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TRADE UNIONISM

BY THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK

AND

W. SMITH CLARK, M.A., LL.B.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

THE LEGAL POSITION OF TRADE UNIONS

(*Second Edition*)

A Complete Study of the Statute and Case Law affecting Trade Unions, with all the Most Recent Legal Decisions in England and Scotland

TRADE UNIONISM

28094

BY

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"THE LEGAL POSITION OF TRADE UNIONS"
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PREFACE

IN placing this book before the public, I wish to express my acknowledgment of the late Mr Howell's "Trade Unionism, New and Old," of which Messrs Methuen were the publishers.

I set out originally with the intention of bringing that work up to date, but, having had to rewrite the whole book, save an isolated paragraph here and there, I feel that I cannot fairly attribute any part sufficiently to Mr Howell to authorize me to describe the production as his in any way. At the same time, I wish to express my indebtedness to him for certain phrases in the book, and, more particularly, for certain information.

HENRY H. SCHLOESSER

TEMPLE
February 1913

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TRADE UNIONISM

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN TO THE REPEAL OF THE COMBINATION ACTS, 1824

CONSIDERABLE diversity of opinion exists as to the historical origin of Trade Unions. At one time it was confidently asserted that Trade Unionism was an outgrowth of, if not exactly an offshoot from, the old Guild system of the Middle Ages. This suggestion derived its advocacy from Dr Brentano's *History and Development of Guilds and the Origin of Trade Unions,* and his ideas formed the historical basis of Howell's *Conflicts of Capital and Labour* and *Trade Unionism, New and Old.* The better opinion, however, seems to be that taken by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in their *History of Trade Unions,* that "the supposed descent of the Trade Unions from Craft Guilds rests upon no basis whatever."

According to Professor Ashley,[1] the Guilds were self-governing bodies of craftsmen, a kind of co-operative society, while Dr Cunningham considers them as departments of the municipality.[2] But, in

[1] *Introduction to Economic History and Theory.*
[2] *History of Industry and Commerce.*

any event, they were associations of masters rather than men, and as such cannot well be regarded as the ancestors of associations of the employed. It is in the early combinations of workers, not of masters, that the origin of Trade Unions must be sought.

Turning our attention to such organizations, we find little evidence of any continuous association of wage-earners prior to the eighteenth century. During that period Unions began to spring up in various trades, and Parliament became correspondingly active in suppressing them. The Combination Act of 1799, which made all such combinations penal, codified and generalized a long series of enactments which had been directed against various trades.

In view of recent controversies, it is interesting to note that from the beginning Trade Unions had their political as well as their economic functions. The members of a trade would meet sometimes to contrive a rise in their wages, sometimes to petition Parliament as to their grievances.

As the differentiation of capitalist and workmen became more marked, a cleavage which arose a full half-century before the introduction of machinery, the Trade Unions became increasingly vigorous. In particular, the obsolescence of the State fixing of wages gave Trade Unions an opportunity of petitioning Parliament for the reinforcement of this statutory power.

EARLY STATUTORY ACTION

To understand this early Trade Union activity it is necessary to consider the history of statutory wage regulation. The Craft Guilds of the Middle Ages had been empowered to lay down the conditions under which people might practise a trade, and they had excluded persons who were not members of their guild from working, and had insisted on a seven years' apprenticeship. The emancipation of the serfs had increased the competition in the labour market, and had compelled the freemen to sell their labour to the guilds.

Then came the black-death, and in consequence food rose in price and higher wages were demanded by the surviving workmen. To prevent this the Statutes of Labourers were passed, statutes which in practice operated in the building and agricultural trades only, though nominally in all industry.

The first Statutes of Labourers bear the impress of wide-reaching mastery of the guilds in all matters pertaining to labour. At the same time the enactments mark the decadence of the guilds as the governing authority, inasmuch as they could no longer enforce their regulations, without the aid of statutory law. The Statutes of Labourers of Edw. III. (1349-51) were, in reality, originally Ordinances of the King and Council, but by a statute of Rich. II. (1378), it was expressly enacted that the former ordinances should be

affirmed and held for statutes. After reciting in the preamble the reasons for its enactment—upon "the Petition of the Commonalty," because the servants, having no regard to the ordinance, refused to serve "unless they have liveries and wages to the double or treble of what they were wont to take"—the first Statute of Labourers proceeds to enact clauses with respect to yearly and daily wages, modes of hiring, etc., of all servants in husbandry. It deals with artificers in the building trades—carpenters, masons, tylers, plasterers, and their servers, or labourers; with shoemakers, tailors, saddlers, tanners, curriers, goldsmiths, and others, all of whom were associated with the respective guilds of their several trades.

The Statute of Labourers became the progenitor of a family of laws, which multiplied exceedingly. Further regulation by statute, in the succeeding reign, was immediately followed by an ordinance, made by Richard II., requiring returns of the guilds, as to their constitution, aims, statutes, and means. A partial inquiry had been instituted in the reign of Edward II., about the year 1321, in consequence of abuses said to exist in connexion with the Weavers' Guild of London. In 1436-7 an Act was passed (15 Hen. VI., c. 6), "for the Regulation of the Ordinances of Guilds, Fraternities, and Companies," enacting that they should not be used against the common profit of the people, and requiring that their ordinances should be approved and enrolled before the

Justices of the Peace, and by them revoked, if not found to be wholly loyal and reasonable.

The reign of Elizabeth marks a development in the history of labour. A code of legislative regulation was established, applicable to most of the industries then existing in this country. The Statute of Apprentices, 5 Eliz., c. 4 (1562-3), was an endeavour to codify existing law respecting the several matters therein dealt with, in such manner as to protect alike the master, and his hired servant, or apprentice. The preamble recites that " there remain and stand in force a great number of Acts and statutes concerning the retaining, departing, wages, and orders of apprentices, servants and labourers, as well in husbandry as in divers other arts, mysteries, and occupations ; yet partly for the imperfection and contrariety that is found, and doth appear in sundry of the said laws, and for the variety and number of them ; and chiefly for that the wages and allowances limited and rated in many of the said statutes are in divers places too small, and not answerable to this time, respecting the advancement of prices of all things belonging to the said servants and labourers ; the said laws cannot conveniently, without the great grief and burden of the poor labourer and hired man, be put in good and true execution ; and as the said several Acts and statutes were, at the time of making them, thought to be very good and beneficial for the commonwealth of this realm (as divers of them are), so if the substance of

as many of the said laws as are meet to be continued, shall be digested and reduced into one sole law and statute, and in the same an uniform order prescribed and limited concerning the wages and other orders for apprentices, servants, and labourers, there is good hope that it will come to pass, that the same law (being duly executed) should banish idleness, advance husbandry, and yield unto the hired person, both in time of scarcity and in the time of plenty, a convenient proportion of wages."

Section 2 of the Statute repeals the provisions of the then existing eight special statutes, commencing with 25 Edw. III., st. I. (1349), and ending with 21 Hen. VIII., c. 16 (1529). That the statute was intended to deal justly with the artificers and hired men included within its provisions, is evident from the fact that the Statute 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, c. 11 (1555), "An Act touching Weavers," is not included in the statutes repealed by the Statute of Apprentices, the former Act being wholly in the interests of the handicraft weaving class. Section 4 enumerates the sciences, crafts, mysteries, and arts affected by the statute, comprising all the distinctive handicrafts of the time, and in subsequent sections those engaged in husbandry and other occupations similarly affected. Those who framed the provisions of that important statute attempted much more than a mere consolidation of existing statutes, they endeavoured to codify existing customs as far as practicable, and where

they could not interfere with the latter, as in Norwich and Godalming, saving clauses were introduced, preserving the liberties of those places, and also the charters and liberties of corporate towns. The Act prescribed the terms of service, the hours of labour, the fixing of wages by the Justices of the Peace, the period of apprenticeship, the proportion of apprentices to journeymen, modes of discharge, conduct of the master or mistress towards apprentices, and vice versa, and most other things touching employment and daily labour.

The Act of Elizabeth was thus the outcome of the legislation initiated by the Statute of Labourers, in the reign of Edward III., and of the subsequent statutes by that Act repealed. It was the forerunner of numerous other Acts, passed in later reigns, covering a period of over 250 years. As new industries arose, capitalists began to feel themselves increasingly fettered and desired the repeal of the statute, but the workmen, seeing a protection to their wages in the Apprentices Act, sought its enforcement; and for about two centuries the contest raged fiercer and fiercer, on the one side for the retention of the laws, and on the other for their repeal.

The Statute of Elizabeth applied to all the crafts and trades of the time. Its provisions were extended to other crafts and trades as they arose or developed, and those relating to existing trades were "strengthened," as new conditions affected industry and modes of

labour. During the reigns of James I., Charles I., Charles II., and James II., new Acts were passed. In the reign of Queen Anne further legislation took place, nearly a score of statutes being passed affecting labour in one way and another. Among those specially dealt with, in specific Acts, may be mentioned the textile industries, including the woollen trade, the silk trade, the cotton trade, the flax and linen trades, the hosiery trades, and hempen manufactures; the clothing trades of all kinds, in the manufacture of articles, and in the making up of materials by tailors; the boot and shoe trades, and all leather trades concerned in the manufacture and preparation of materials, hides and skins, and all subsequent processes, and the manufacture and making up of all sorts of articles; the manufacture of hats and caps, gloves, articles of personal adornment, and utensils for home use. The building trades, in all branches, were subjected to legislative provisions of one kind and another, including the unskilled labour which served the artisans and mechanics, and in all these industries the workmen tended to regard the statutory regulation of wages as a means of protection. Thus, in 1773, the Spitalfields silk weavers obtained the passing of an Act ordering the justices to fix the rate of wages in their trade, and the curriers, hatters, wool staplers, brushmakers, calico-workers, etc., commenced to bring actions to enforce the Elizabethan Act. A decision of 1811, however, decided that industries not in exist-

ence in 1563 were outside the Elizabethan Act,[1] and this turned the attention of the trade societies into other directions to safeguard their labour.

ILLEGALITY OF COMBINATIONS

In seeking other avenues of activity, the trade societies met with considerable difficulties. From early times there had existed a series of statutes directed against combinations of workmen. One of the first statutes specifically directed against combination, as such, appears to have been 34 Edw. III., c. 9 (1360-1), an Act in which "The Statute of Labourers is confirmed, altered, and enforced." After mitigating the penalty as to labourers, the Act proceeds to abolish and render null and void all alliances and covines of masons and carpenters, and to order that each such artificer shall be compelled to serve his master, and do every work that to him pertaineth. Another statute of the same year goes further, as regards labourers and artificers, and empowers the sheriff to pursue and seize those that absent themselves out of their services, in another town or country, and to outlaw those not found. Such a labourer, if found after outlawry, was to suffer imprisonment till he agreed to do as required by law, and had made satisfaction, and for his falsity was to be branded with an iron with the letter F,

[1] R. *v.* Justices of Kent (1811), 17 East 395.

burnt in the forehead, signifying *Falsity*. But this latter penalty was not to be perpetrated, except with the advice and consent of the Justices, after a respite for a given period.

The remaining years of the reign of Edward III. were fruitful in legislation against the freedom of combination. The succeeding reigns were scarcely less so, down to the accession of Queen Elizabeth.[1] In this latter reign, as has been shown, matters changed somewhat, State regulation increased, and was extended as new industries arose. But statutory regulation required statutory enforcement, hence we find repression of combinations to obtain redress of

[1] The statutes are too numerous to be set forth in detail, but the following list gives some of them, all of which interfered with the freedom of the workmen to combine, some also with that of the employers.

a. 25 Edw. III., st. I.
34 Edw. III., c. 10.
37 Edw. III., cc. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15.
38 Edw. III., c. 2.
42 Edw. III., c. 6.
50 & 51 Edw. III., cc. 6 and 7.
12 Rich. II., cc. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 14.
13 Rich. II., st. I., cc. 8, 10, 11, and 12.
14 Rich. II., cc. 4, 5, and 14.
17 Rich. II., c. 8.
21 Rich. II., confirming 13 Rich. II., c. 12
4 Hen. IV., cc. 14, 35.
7 Hen. IV., c. 17.

a. 2 Hen. V., c. 4.
2 Hen. VI., c. 7.
6 Hen. VI., c. 3.
8 Hen. VI., c. 8.
11 Hen. VII., c. 22.
12 Hen. VII., cc. 1, 3, and 4.
14 & 15 Hen. VIII., c. 2.
21 Hen. VIII., c. 16.
33 Hen. VIII., st. I., c. 9.
2 & 3 Edw. VI., c. 15.
1 Mary, st. II., cc. 11 and 12.
1 Mary, st. III., cc. 7 and 8.
1 & 2 Phil. & Mary, cc. 7, 14.
2 & 3 Phil. & Mary, cc. 11, 12, 13, and 16.
4 & 5 Phil. and Mary, c. 5.

grievances, and suppression, by law and proclamation, when the workmen dared to combine and risk all the penalties. Thus, by the eighteenth century, workmen found themselves in this predicament, that while wages, hours, conditions of employment and modes of working were ceasing to be regulated by statute, at the same time workmen were prevented from taking such action as they thought best to ameliorate their condition, advance their wages, or alter the hard and fast lines of statutory hiring and of service. The only chance of escape was by mutual association for mutual protection, and this was denied to them. But, in spite of law and of other difficulties, they did combine, with the result that the criminal law was strengthened and extended, with the view of stifling discontent and resisting every effort to obtain a relaxation of the law where oppressive, and of amending it where it was thought to offer any advantage to labour. These laws against labour came to be rigidly enforced; those in its favour were but laxly administered.

As has been said, the laws specifically directed against combination, and known subsequently under the name of "Combination Laws," had had a long history. After the Statute 33 Edw. I., st. I. (1305), which had been brought to bear in order to stamp with conspiracy "all who do confeder or bind themselves by oath, covenant, or other alliance, as relates or extends to combinations or conspiracies

of workmen, or other persons, to obtain an advance of, or fix the rate of wages, or to lessen or alter the hours or duration of the time of working, or to decrease the quantity of work, or to regulate or control the mode of carrying on any manufacture, trade, or business, or the management thereof ; or to combinations or conspiracies of masters, manufacturers, or other persons, to lower or fix the rate of wages, or to increase or alter the hours or duration of the time of working, or to increase the quantity of work, or to regulate or control the mode of carrying on any manufacture, trade, or business, or the management thereof, or to oblige workmen to enter into work," came that of Edward III. above referred to, which was followed by 3 Hen. VI., c. 1 (1425), applied to " the annual congregations and confederacies made by masons, in their general chapters assembled " ; 33 Hen. VIII., c. 9 (1541-2), " An Act for servants' wages " ; 2 and 3 Edw. VI., c. 15 (1548), concerning " victuallers and handicraftsmen " ; 5 James I. (1411), dealing with " the fees of craftsmen, and the price of their work," in Scotland ; another Act, with " the fees of workmen," also in Scotland ; and yet another Act, affecting masons and others. The price of silk-workmanship was dealt with in the Act 7 James I., Scotland (1413). The 5th of Mary—Scotland (1547)—dealt with " the price of craftsmen's work, and of meat and drink in taverns." The size and prices of stuffs were dealt with by 7 James VI. (1574), Scotland, and silk-

throwing was regulated by 13 and 14 Chas. II., c. 15 (1662). Later on tailors were regulated under 7 Geo. I., c. 13 (1720-1). In 1725, "An Act to prevent unlawful combinations of workmen employed in the woollen manufactures, and for the better payment of their wages," was passed, 12 Geo. I., c. 34 (1725-6). This was followed by 3 Geo. II., c. 14 (1730), "an Act to prevent unlawful combinations of workmen in all trades," in Ireland; by 22 Geo. II., c. 27 (1748-9), extending 12 Geo. I., c. 34, which was again extended by 29 Geo. II., c. 33 (1755-6). In the reign of George III. some fifteen or sixteen other Acts were enacted prior to the year 1800, when finally a new general law "to prevent unlawful combinations of workmen" was passed, 39 and 40 Geo. III., c. 106 (1799-1800). The constant use of this legal machinery conclusively shows that during all this period combinations were prevalent, and that the law was practically powerless to stamp them out, or put them down. In addition, the common law doctrine of "restraint of trade" was used by the judges to crush trade combination.

RISE OF TRADE UNIONS

After the failure to enforce the Statute of Apprentices, towards the close of the eighteenth and in the early years of the nineteenth century, very determined and resolute efforts were made to institute associations of some kind for the protection of workmen, and the advancement of labour. Some men

dared openly to combine ; others did so secretly. In many trades the attempts to do so were persistent, in others only spasmodic ; but in any case the criminal law was frequently set in motion to circumvent or thwart the men's designs, crush the incipient organization, or to punish the daring innovators, who sought to associate, for disregarding the law. Tumults, riots, even bloodshed, sometimes resulted from these attempts ; but they were persisted in. Prosecutions were instituted, when the offenders were apprehended, and condign punishment followed upon conviction ; but in many instances the perpetrators of overt acts were not discovered, and none would betray the wrongdoers, simply because of the injustice which had led to the wrongdoing. Discontent, and industrial revolt, were common, if not general ; and then there was a scare. But the only result of the scare was further repression, and, as the "Combination Laws" had largely failed in their object, or were ineffective for the objects intended, other laws were brought into requisition, namely, those enacted for purely political purposes, such as the Sedition Acts, the Corresponding Societies Acts,[1] and even the Acts relating to treason.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, excluding the petitioning of Parliament, the Trade Unionists had little political power. The journeymen were non-voters, as a rule, and therefore were, politically, of no

[1] This Act, probably by an oversight, has never been repealed.

account. In certain cities and towns the freemen had votes, and these were courted at election times, to be neglected when the event was over. It could not be otherwise, for their votes were bought at so much apiece, and those who bought them, sold them again at a profit, only in another way. The voteless journeymen saw this, and resented it.[1] By degrees the workmen, seeing no chance of escape from their industrial thraldom in any other way, joined forces with the political malcontents, and demanded a reform of Parliament, the abolition of abuses, and the repeal of the Combination Laws. It is not very clear to what extent the political factions agreed in the demands of the workmen for social amelioration, but the latter foresaw that something would be gained by the alliance. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century we find the political and social elements co-operating in many public movements, with the result that both sections gradually began to reap partial advantages. Some legislation took place as regards Friendly Societies, before the end of the eighteenth century, followed by the first Factory Act, in 1801-1802. The workmen became bolder also in the matter of combination, the weavers, shipwrights, shoemakers, tailors, compositors, and some others, taking the lead.

Despite the law there is evidence of the existence of some form of continuous labour combination among

[1] See Gibbin's *Industrial History*, p. 189.

the framework knitters, from 1710 to 1725, and of active political work in 1778 and onwards. The compositors, and others connected with printing, show signs of activity in 1775, 1785, and 1792. In 1798 five members were prosecuted for conspiracy for "unlawfully meeting together to restrain and injure the master-printers." The hatters were active in labour questions as early as 1772. The shipwrights of the port of Liverpool were a political force, by means of their organization, in 1790, but their association was a guild composed of freemen, having and exercising the Parliamentary franchise. Sheffield boasted of its trade organizations before the close of the eighteenth century, for we find some rather warm contentions in various trades, the masters on the one side, and the workmen on the other, combining for specific purposes. Foremost among this class of organized workmen were the cutlers (1790); the scissor-grinders (1791); and the scissor-smiths (1792). In the cotton industry we hear of the combination of the calico-printers, in the year 1802. But perhaps the nearest approach to a *bona-fide* Trade Union, something akin to those of later times, was the "Institution," established at Halifax in 1796, and at Leeds, about the same time, by the clothworkers of Yorkshire. These "Institutions," however, had masters as well as journeymen as members. The contribution to the Halifax Institution was threepence per week, to the Leeds Institution only one penny per week, the workers in the villages

contributing as well as those working in the towns. It is evident from various contemporary references that the weavers were among the first to institute more militant associations of the kind, for an Act expressly prohibiting their combinations was passed in 1775 (12 Geo. I., c. 34).

Probably the reason why more is heard of combinations of workmen towards the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, is that modes of self-help were for the first time being promoted and legalized. The Friendly Society Club was recognized as a useful institution, and an Act was passed for their "encouragement and relief" in 1793; this Act was amended and extended in 1795. The workmen in some trades took advantage of this legislation, and combined for trade purposes under the guise of Friendly Societies. The "Good Intent" Society of Silk Weavers, instituted in 1806, is an example of this form of association. Still, the efforts of workmen to advance their interests, and to undo the mischiefs of past legislation, were cramped in every direction. Free association being denied to them, some secret societies were doubtless formed, but the reasons for their secrecy were not criminal; they were not founded with a criminal intent, except in so far as seeking to mitigate the evils of legislation, by combined action, could be construed as being criminal. It was an offence against the law to combine; and seeking to evade the provisions of unjust and disabling law

was punishable, while resistance to them brought the offenders within the penal clauses of statutes specifically directed against sedition, treason, and conspiracy. A legitimate trade society could not be lawfully established prior to 1824. But their growth and vitality is undeniable, even before the passing of the Act 5 Geo. IV., c. 95. It is often thought that the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824 made possible the existence of Trade Unions. This is not so. Many of them had been created and nursed in secret, but the latitude allowed by the Act brought them into prominence. The workmen were freed from danger and confronted with responsibility. The Combination Repeal Law was re-enacted in 1825, after an inquiry into its operation and working, and certain of the methods used by Trade Unionists in inducing their fellows to cease working were legalized.

During this period strikes had been prevalent, as the reports of that time of investigations into the nature and extent of combination abundantly show. There were thus also numerous prosecutions for striking, resulting in fines and imprisonment, all of which tended rather to increase the discontent than to allay it. It was pretended that the law was equal for employers and employed, but there is no instance of a successful prosecution against employers for combining, although in theory it was just as illegal for masters to combine to keep down wages as for men to organize to increase them.

TRADE COMBINATIONS LEGALIZED

Inquiries into the above-mentioned discontents were instituted in 1817, 1818, and down to 1824, and the outrages which occurred during those years drew attention to the whole subject of the condition of the working class, and ended in a repeal of the Combination Laws, in 1824, to be again the subject of Parliamentary inquiry in 1825, when, as has been said, the Act of the previous year was repealed, and another not quite so favourable to the Trade Unionist, was enacted, as a substitute, in its place.

Labour was not completely unfettered by the 5 Geo. IV., c. 95 (1824), or its substitute, 6 Geo. IV., c. 129 (1825). Neither measure was intended to be a full charter of rights for workmen. Mr Wallace, in introducing the earlier Bill, stated that its "principle was to make all associations illegal, excepting those for the purpose of setting such amount of wages as would be a fair remuneration for the workmen." Whatever its object, or the reservations in the minds of those who framed the measure, the Act gave freer scope to the workmen, and enabled them to associate together to promote their own welfare, in their own way, so long as they did not use violence, threats, intimidation, or force, to achieve their objects. They were empowered by law, for the first time for five centuries, to fight for their own freedom, at least to a limited extent. The laws of master and servant still

remained,[1] and, in principle, they were in conflict with the 6 Geo. IV., c. 129; but in effect the repeal of the Combination Laws enabled workmen to institute lawful associations for mutual protection and advancement, and they were not slow to utilize the power which that statute gave to them in those respects.[2]

Despite the Combination Acts, however, in 1824, at the time of their repeal, we find in existence the following trade societies:—Taylors (1700); Woollen Workers (1717); Woolcombers (1730); Silk Weavers (1770); Gold Beaters (1777); Curriers, Smiths, Farriers, Sailmakers, Coachmakers, Dyers, Carpenters, Bricklayers, and Joiners, Weavers, Stocking-makers (1778); Cordwainers, Calico-printers, Bookbinders (1792); Framework Knitters (1794); Compositors (1801); Cabinetmakers, Printers, Braziers, Masons, Scissor-smiths, File-smiths, Silversmiths, Cutlers, Grinders (1816); Hatters (1820); Brushmakers, Shipwrights, Coal-miners, Papermakers, Ropemakers, Scale-makers, Leather Goods Makers, Zinc Plate Workers, Scale Beaters, Saddlers, Millwrights, Musical Instrument Makers, Shoemakers, and Weavers.

[1] The old Laws of Master and Servant were temporarily repealed in 1867, but they were only finally repealed, as regards criminal matters, in 1875. As regards summary civil actions for breach of contract, they are still operative, a fact brought into prominence during the North-Eastern Railway Strike of 1912.

[2] For the history of the law relating to Trade Unions, see Schloesser and Smith Clark's *Legal Position of Trade Unions*, chap. i. (P. S. King & Son).

CHAPTER II

FROM THE REPEAL OF THE COMBINATION ACTS TO THE RISE OF THE LABOUR PARTY

FOR all practical purposes, modern Trade Unionism started in 1824. Prior to that date nearly all was incubation. A few Unions established in the earlier period have survived to this day; but these have mostly been reorganized. Of those mentioned in the first chapter, the Consolidated Society of Bookbinders, founded in 1792; the compositors in 1801; the ironfounders in 1809; some branches of the engineering trades in 1823 and 1824; the shipwrights in 1825; the glass-bottle makers in 1827; have all continued to exist. From the final repeal of the Combination Laws, in 1825, however, the real work of organization commenced. During the next twenty-five years there was great industrial activity. There was great political activity also, and the energies of the pioneer Unions were applied to such movements as that for Parliamentary reform, and for other objects. This was especially the case up to the passing of the Reform Act 1832. Then commenced, in real earnest, the organization of the Labour Unions, upon a more permanent basis. The boilermakers' and cabinetmakers' Unions date from this period.

In 1833 and 1834 we find Trade Unions a distinct political power, backed by numbers and funds. Politicians courted them and assisted them. They numbered among their friends Dr Wade, Francis Place, Rev. Mr Bull, Joseph Hume, M.P., Thomas Attwood, M.P., Owen, and other then well-known public men.[1] Judging by the reports in the *Pioneer* newspaper, an organ of the Unions, nearly every trade in the country had its Union, and strikes were rife, not only among workmen, but among workwomen. Of the latter we find washerwomen, female straw-workers, bonnetmakers, female operatives in the textile trades, and many others. London shopmen also combined, and attorneys' clerks threatened to do so. Prominent among the men's Unions were masons, carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, cabinetmakers, smiths, shoemakers, tailors, printers and compositors, chair-makers, potters, japanners, locksmiths, engineers, textile operatives, coopers, gasworkers, sawyers, saddle and harness makers, stove-makers, nail-makers, agricultural labourers, and others.

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

In 1829 a "Grand General Union" of Cotton Spinners was established; in 1830, a national association for the protection of labour, which included 150 Trade Unions. In 1832 the association col-

[1] See *Francis Place*, by St John J. Ervine. Fabian Society, 2d.

lapsed, but many other federations, notably the builders, potters, and millers, contrived to exist. There were conceptions of "A Grand National Guild of Builders," also of a "Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union," ideas which have been revived of late by the Syndicalists and Industrial Unionists, and further, a "National Labour Exchange," for London. Strikes were prevalent in most industries, and help was generally rendered by those in work to those on strike. The prosecution of the six Dorchester labourers (1834) was the signal for such concerted action, and evoked such unbounded enthusiasm as had never before been witnessed or exhibited in labour agitations. But the elements of permanency had not even then been sufficiently developed to be embodied adequately in the constitutions and rules of the Unions. After a period of unwonted activity and vigorous effort, the majority of the Unions subsided ; while those that weathered the storm and remained, had all their work to do to consolidate their organization, and place it upon a permanent basis. The cause of Unionism progressed, however, and they had attained such prominence again, by the year 1838, that a further inquiry was instituted into their objects and organization. But nothing came of the inquiry, not even a report, the evidence only being published.

After 1836 trade steadily declined and the accompanying distress told adversely upon the Trade Unions.

Many collapsed, while others became impotent. The political agitation of the Chartists monopolized the attention of the working classes—a movement from which many of the trade societies stood aloof. The achievement of free trade and the triumph of individualistic radicalism set the current flowing again in industrial channels, and Trade Unionism settled down to a less ambitious work. The revival of 1840 marks the re-establishment of Unions among the potters (1840), miners (1841), cotton spinners (1844), and printers (1845). A new but more moderate association of united trades was formed in 1845. The Bricklayers' Society, Typographical Association, and Amalgamated Society of Engineers all came into existence at this time.

During the forties many strikes occurred, prosecutions were instituted, and federation was again the chief topic of the day. The workmen were gradually feeling their way towards a solid basis upon which to establish an institution which was destined to exert an enormous influence in all matters relating to capital and labour, both in the then near and also distant future. As yet the Unions were little more than fighting machines, erected upon insufficient foundations. Sometimes the foundations gave way, or the machines themselves would not work; often the havoc which took place in the conflict resulted more from the misuse of labour's weapons than from the heavy artillery of capital's guns.

PROVIDENT BENEFIT

In the year 1850 the different branches of the engineering trades had each their own Union of some kind. But they found "that they were in too isolated a state, and therefore not able to command what they were really entitled to." After some conferences, a delegate meeting was held in Birmingham, in September 1850, when it was resolved to amalgamate all the separate societies into one Union, under the name of "The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths, and Pattern Makers." At that delegate meeting the questions of overtime and piecework were discussed, with the result that steps were subsequently taken to abolish these practices in all shops, except that overtime, when absolutely required by the exigencies of the case, was to be paid for at double rates. Extra rates had been generally paid since 1836, but the practice was not universal, and many strikes took place in consequence of the lack of uniformity in practice, especially in Lancashire. Provident benefits were provided in the society's rules, for all members of the Union, similar to those to be found in two or three of the older Unions. The Ironfounders' Society, for example, began with some of them thirty years previously; the Steam-Engine Makers' Society, twenty-five years previously; other Unions may have had one or two of the objects in their rules, even at an earlier date. But in 1850 the provident benefits were

systematized, and were made an integral part of the constitution, and internal economy of the Union. The contributions were made to cover all benefits and all purposes, except that extra levies might be added by the votes of the whole of the members for specific purposes, or on occasions of great emergency.

The constitution and rules of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers have become the models of many of the later Unions. Some of those established long prior to 1850 have since that date been reorganized on the same basis as the Engineers. Many of them have not been able to incorporate all the benefits in their rules; a few have kept the provident and trade benefits separate and apart, but the tendency has been to approximate to the Engineers' Society as far as practicable. Among those most nearly approaching to the ideal of a trade society in these respects are the boilermakers and iron-shipbuilders, the ironfounders, the steam-engine makers, the moulders of Scotland, the carpenters and joiners, the operative bricklayers, the compositors, the tailors, the railway servants, and some others.

This combination of "friendly society" benefits with those for use in trade disputes is a characteristic of the "old" Trade Unionism which prevailed until about 1890.

Trade Unionism made rapid strides between 1850 and 1860, but no new features developed. The records, so far as available, seem to show that quiet

organization was going on in various trades. The period was also remarkable for some great strikes, notably the great Preston strike in 1853; the great miners' strike in Yorkshire in 1858; the boot and shoe makers' strikes in 1857, 1858, and 1859; the strike and lock-out in the building trades and in the flint-glass trades in 1859-60; and the chain-makers in the same year. These disputes, and the circumstances connected with or arising out of them, directed public attention to the subject of labour organizations and of trade disputes generally. Efforts were from time to time made to institute Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration to deal with such questions, but they never achieved any marked success. Employers usually resented any "outside interference," and the workmen seemed to have very little faith in the impartiality of any umpire. During this decade several Trade Unions took advantage of registration under the Friendly Societies Act 1855, in order to allow fraudulent officials to be summarily dealt with by the magistrates. In 1867, however, it was decided in the case of Hornby *v.* Close[1] that Trade Unions could not take advantage of that measure.

REVIVAL OF POLITICAL INTEREST

After 1860 there was a more distinctive awakening of political activities among the working classes than

[1] (1867) 2 Q. B. 153; see Schloesser and Smith Clark's *Legal Position of Trade Unions*, chap. i.

had been operative since the year 1848. The effects of the great strike and lock-out in the Building Trades in 1859-60 had not only not died out, but were manifest in many directions during the whole of the next ten years. The Conference called into existence by the "Nine Hours' Movement" was the starting-point for a new departure, indeed of more than one new departure, in labour movements. Many of the more active, intelligent, and experienced leaders of the working classes had been brought together, and they were unwilling that the Conference should be dissolved without an effort to constitute a permanent body on representative lines similar to that which had done so much good during the prolonged contest for a nine hours' working day. The first outcome of several friendly consultations was the establishment of the London Trades Council, started in 1860, together with other Trades Councils in industrial districts such as Glasgow, Sheffield, and Liverpool. The second was the formation of the International Working Men's Association, constituted in 1864. The third important movement was the agitation for political enfranchisement, which led to the formation of the Reform League in 1864, the outcome of another Association—the Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association of 1862-3. This movement led to the Reform Bills of 1866 and 1867, and eventually to the Reform Act of 1867. Much of the political activity of subsequent years was due to those movements.

The growing activity of the working classes, together with certain isolated acts of violence, led to renewed attacks upon the principle of combination, and to the Inquiry, by a Royal Commission, in 1867, into the Organization and Rules of Trades Societies, with the hope, publicly expressed by the official mouthpieces of the Government, in both Houses of Parliament, in the Debate on the Address at the opening of Parliament, of being able to carry a measure for the suppression of the Unions. The Inquiry brought to light several outrages in connexion with two or three branches of trade in Sheffield and Manchester ; but, in all other respects, Trade Unions came out of the inquiry unscathed. Largely owing to the efforts of Frederick Harrison, that which was intended to be a curse resulted in a blessing. The first result of the inquiry was a temporary measure to render secure the funds and property of those societies which hitherto had been wholly insecure, and at the mercy of any dishonestly inclined official.[1] Moreover, the minority report of the commissioners paved the way for the Trade Union Acts, 1871 and 1876, and for other labour legislation in the decade 1871-80.

In other respects industrial organization made rapid progress. The influence of the awakening movement was, however, of wider significance than it had ever been before. The leaders of the working

[1] A measure made necessary by the decision in Hornby *v.* Close, *supra.*

classes did not confine their operations to direct labour movements alone. Political action had again begun to interest the Trade Unionists; in 1867 the workmen in boroughs were enfranchised and were urged to register as electors. They took active interest in the Italian struggle for freedom, and in the great anti-slavery movement in America. They sided with the North in favour of freedom, as against the pro-slavery party of the South. They initiated the Trade Congresses, and also Labour Representation in Parliament; Mr Cremer, at Warwick, and Mr Howell, at Aylesbury, both went to the poll in 1868. They were, however, defeated. In the same year the beginnings of the Trade Union Congress appear; thirty-four delegates, representing over 100,000 Trade Unionists, met at Manchester. In 1869, forty-eight delegates assembled at Birmingham. In 1871 the Congress was officially convoked by the leaders of the movement, and the official parliamentary committee was appointed. In 1872 the number of members represented had risen to nearly 1,100,000.

The next decade, 1871-80, saw further developments in labour organization, and also an extension of Trade Unionism. During four or five years Great Britain enjoyed an expansion of trade and increased prosperity to an extent never before realized. Prices of commodities and goods went up enormously, vast profits being made in nearly every industry in the kingdom. Naturally the workmen sought to share in

the benefits and advantages of flourishing trade. The result was that labour organizations also expanded, new societies sprang into existence, including the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in 1871, and a revival took place in those already formed, and national federations were attempted on a large scale. Strikes were prevalent in all trades; in some the wages went up to a higher level than had ever before been attained; and all workmen seemed to have made a forward step towards better remuneration for labour, and better conditions of employment. During that period, although labour disputes were common, almost universal, there was an absence of riotous proceedings on the one side, and of an appeal to the forces of the Crown on the other. Formerly it had been the common, almost usual, practice to call out the military in the event of a great strike, especially in the iron and coal districts; but this was no longer thought to be necessary.[1] The press was severe in its comments upon the action of the Unions and the exactions of the men. The colliers were rated for their supposed love of champagne, and for pianos, and all were treated with the usual homilies about driving trade from the country by demands for high wages, shorter hours of labour, and other claims, and also for their alleged neglect of work, and of laziness in the performance of their duty.

[1] During the recent strikes, notably in the great railway strike of 1911, however, a reversion to the older practice of calling out soldiers took place.

TRADE UNION ACT 1871

Undoubtedly some of the changes in the attitude of capital and labour towards each other were due to the action of the Legislature in passing the Trade Union Act 1871. Up to that date Trade Unions were under the ban of the law. The repeal of the Combination Laws gave to workmen freedom to combine; but combinations in restraint of trade were unlawful associations still. The trade society, which embodied such combinations, was unrecognized as a lawful association, and, consequently, its funds were unprotected. An officer of the Union, having access to the funds, could embezzle them with impunity. Happily few did so, or even attempted to do so; but in the cases tried in the courts, those who had done so were acquitted, and were practically told that they could rob the society without fear of legal consequences. The Unions were thus denied that security for their property which was accorded to all other bodies. Moreover, criminal and civil liabilities might still attach to Trade Unions for acting in "restraint of trade." The Trade Union Act remedied that state of things. It also gave other advantages to these labour organizations; they were recognized for many purposes as lawful bodies, capable of holding property in land, and they had the right of legal remedy by the simple process of registration. In some other respects

the Legislature was timid. A part of the original Bill was even reactionary ; this was eventually carried as a separate measure, under the title of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. An agitation was then commenced for the repeal of this obnoxious measure, which was accentuated by the judgment of Lord Esher in R. *v.* Bunn, commonly called the "Gasworkers' Case," and in 1875, after a brief inquiry as to the effect of that law, and other labour statutes, the whole were repealed by the "Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875." This was followed in 1876 by an amendment of the Trade Union Act, a measure which conceded all the demands of the Trade Unionists up to that time. Legislation was now tolerably complete. Labour was considered to be freed from restrictive law. The Trade Unions, representing labour, were placed on an equality with all other associations ; they were even in a unique position in that the courts were precluded from interfering in domestic Trade Union affairs—thus they could pursue their policy and carry out their objects without fear.

LABOUR CANDIDATURES

By 1874 the Trade Union Congress had grown to represent over a million organized workmen. The running of Independent Labour candidates for Parliament was discussed. Since 1869 the Labour Representation League had been endeavouring to

get working men into Parliament. In 1869, 1870, and 1873, six Independent candidatures were promoted. The Trade Union Congress decided to support one candidature, and at the General Election of 1874, thirteen Labour candidates were run at Merthyr, Wycombe, Aylesbury, Warrington, Finsbury, Peterborough, Northampton, Middlesborough, Southwark, Preston, and Stoke respectively. Two only, Alexander Macdonald and Thomas Burt, both miners, were returned to Westminster, and in both cases the Liberals did not oppose their election.

DEPRESSION AFTER 1875

The second half of the decade was not so propitious. Again trade declined, prices fell, and wages were lowered. The Unions endeavoured as far as possible to resist the downward tendency. Great strikes followed in several industries, in many instances resulting in disaster, distress, and almost ruin to some of the older organizations. But nothing could prevent reductions in wages—down they went, in some instances as low as before the great expansion of trade, in the five years previously. But this was not the case in all industries, for many of them retained some of the advantages which had accrued to them in those five years. Fortunately the concessions as to working hours were to a great extent maintained, partially in some trades, in others wholly. The strain upon the Unions was immense ; those built upon a solid founda-

tion were shaken to their very centre ; others fell to pieces like a house of cards. By the close of 1879, the drain on the resources of the largest and most successful Unions was such that many could not have withstood it much longer. Between 1875 and 1880, however, the Ashton weavers' and Coopers' Unions were established. In 1878 the Durham Mining Federation was established.

REVIVAL.—THE "NEW" UNIONISM

Sectional disputes between the brassfounders and ironfounders, platers and boilermakers, bricklayers and masons, patternmakers and carpenters broke out, which the local Trades Councils were powerless to restrain. In 1880, however, the tide turned. Societies once again showed increases in their funds and membership, and this work for several years absorbed all their attention. In 1887 an unprecedented revival of Trade Unionism began with the shipbuilding trades, in consequence of a great revival of trade in all branches connected with that important industry. Other branches of the iron trade were similarly affected, and industrial movements for higher wages became general. Then followed the miners, mostly the coal-miners, by whom considerable advances in wages were speedily won. These movements, and others, prepared the way for the institution of the Dockers' Union, started in 1887, and registered in 1888. At first, and for a long time, its success was not great,

and the Union did not make such rapid strides as the Agricultural Labourers' Unions, which are said to have reached a total membership of about 73,300 members in the three great Unions at that time established. The Dockers' Strike, however, at once gave an impulse to their Union, and members were made with unusual facility. In 1889 the Gasworkers and General Labourers' Union was founded, which includes labourers of all trades. In the same year the present Miners' Federation was firmly established; it had been preceded by the South Wales Federation in 1888. The bricklayers, boot and shoe operatives, and railway servants' societies were all flourishing and Trades Councils springing up all over the country.

About 1890 a tendency showed itself in the "new" Unions to abandon the provision of friendly benefits as an object of the Union and to make the Trade Union a purely militant organization. Fierce contests between the advocates of the two ideals broke out at the Trade Union Congresses of 1889-1890. At the Congresses held between 1890 and 1893, the dispute centred round a demand for a universal "eight hours'" day, a policy finally carried, and the State protection of labour. The Congress at Norwich in 1894 was markedly socialistic, and, under the influence of John Burns, a resolution in favour of nationalizing the whole of the means of production, distribution, and exchange was carried. As a result, some of the older Unions began to contemplate secession.

Political matters also attracted the attention of the Trade Union Congress and its parliamentary committee. The reform of the Factory and Employers' Liability Acts were demanded, together with purely political franchise reforms.

The new notions of Socialism were also gaining ground. Since 1883 the social democratic federation had been active in spreading the doctrines of Karl Marx and Henry George among the Trade Unionists, and as a consequence, in 1888 the Congress decided in favour of land nationalization. In 1890, at Liverpool, out of sixty resolutions, "forty-five were," to quote John Burns, "nothing more or less than direct appeals to the State and municipalities to give the workmen what Trade Unionism 'Old' and 'New' had proved itself incapable of doing."

After 1892 trade and Trade Unions alike contracted, but nothing like the loss of earlier depressions was shown. The feeling of working-class solidarity grew. The engineers opened their ranks to all mechanics, and a general feeling of the necessity for co-operation made itself felt. In 1892 it is computed that there were about 1,500,000 Trade Unionists in the United Kingdom, about 4 per cent. of the population. The number of Labour representatives in Parliament was three, of whom two lost their seats in the General Election of 1895.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers withdrew from the Trade Union Congress, as it did from the

Federation of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, but the withdrawal did not create as much consternation as was expected, though it was a blow of considerable weight to the Congress.

In 1893 a great coal dispute occurred, in which the Miners' Federation put forward the claim of a " living wage " irrespective of the prosperity of the industry—a principle finally accepted by the Legislature in the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act of 1912. In 1895 the boot and shoe trades struck, chiefly on the question of methods of remuneration. Recognition of the Trade Union as the instrument of collective bargaining formed the principal reason for the slate quarry strikes of 1896 and 1900. In 1897 the same question had produced the great engineers' dispute.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

During this period, in 1899, a new federal body—the General Federation of the Trade Unions—came into existence, the objects of the Federation including the institution of a common fund for mutual assistance of federated bodies. In 1892 the Registered Dockers' Union alone reported 22,913 members; at the end of 1898 there were only 9100 members. The National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union had twenty-six delegates at that Congress. The General Union of Railway Workers was represented by numerous delegates, corresponding to

its alleged membership; in 1892 the total registered number was 8300, at the end of 1898 only 3200. Meanwhile, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants had grown from 30,611 members in 1892 to 54,426 in 1898.

THE EIGHT HOURS' DAY

The proposal for an Eight Hours' Day for miners became of importance about 1890. A Bill was also introduced to limit the work underground to eight hours for all persons under twenty-one years of age. Durham and Northumberland were opposed to an Eight Hours' Bill, and their Members, Thomas Burt, Charles Fenwick, and John Wilson, opposed the measure. In the other mining districts candidates were expected to pledge themselves in support of the Bill.

The Miners' Eight Hours' Bill was rejected by the House of Commons in 1892 by a majority of 112; in 1893 it was carried by 87 majority, and in 1894 by the same majority, 87, but was defeated in Committee. In 1897 the Bill was rejected by a majority of 41, and on 28th April 1900, it was again rejected by a majority of 24. The Eight Hours' Day in mines was finally fixed by Parliament in 1908.

As an effect of this agitation, the Government conceded an Eight Hours' Day in various Departments of State. Several local bodies also adopted an Eight

Hours' system, or its equivalent. Several large firms conceded it, as, for example, the Thames Iron and Shipbuilding Works, Mr W. Allan, M.P., of the Scotia Works, Sunderland, Messrs Mather and Platt of Salford, and many other employers in various industries did the same. The sentiment in favour of a shorter day had been growing for fifty years. The first efforts had been directed to the attainment of shorter hours on Saturdays, which was finally accomplished. In 1859, there had been the Building Operatives' strike in London for Nine Hours. Though not successful in the manner intended, they virtually won, for the "Saturday half-holiday" was conceded. Then there was the Engineers' contest for the Nine Hours, at Newcastle; this was won. The latest great effort was the strike of engineers in London for Eight Hours, which led to the lock-out in 1897. It failed, but other considerations came in; it was not wholly, or only, an Eight Hours' struggle.

A "Fair Wages Resolution," carried by the House of Commons in February 1891, led to the recognition of a minimum standard of wages in Government contracts, and in the contracts of a large number of public bodies, such as municipal councils, county councils, district and parish councils, school boards, and other local bodies.

The last report for 1898 contained statistics from 1267 Unions. The report of 1891 had only dealt with 32 unregistered Unions, that of 1898 reported on 673

unregistered Unions, the other 594 being registered. The total number of members in the 1267 Unions, included in the 1898 report, was 1,644,591.

LABOUR DEPARTMENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE

In 1892, the Labour Department of the Board of Trade was established, the foundations of which were laid in 1866, when Mr John Burnett was installed as First Labour Correspondent. The late Mr A. J. Mundella completed his work by establishing the Labour Department. The reports first issued in 1887 have not only been continued, but enlarged and improved, newer features being added year by year. *The Labour Gazette*, published monthly, is the organ of the Department.

Another Board of Trade activity inaugurated by the Conciliation (Trade Disputes) Act 1896 (59 and 60 Vict. c. 30), has not proved very satisfactory, though the operation of the Conciliation Boards in the iron and steel trades, and, to some extent, in the coal trades, have not been without effect. In addition to the North of England Conciliation Board, and the Midland Wages Board, in the iron and steel trades, a Conciliation Board was started in the boot and shoe trades, under the Board of Trade arrangement ; and joint committees in the cotton industries of Lancashire, in the coal trade, to some extent in the building trades, and in the engineering trades and others, were established.

After 1890, Trade Unions, particularly those possessed of large benefit funds, thrived in spite of all disadvantages, until the Engineers', for example, in 1900, numbered nearly 103,000 members. The Boilermakers', and Iron Shipbuilders', Ironfounders', Carpenters and Joiners', the London Society of Compositors and others expanded similarly, paying all benefits and demands, and yet with a very substantial balance in hand to meet all liabilities for unemployment, sick, accident, and funeral benefits, and superannuation allowance.

THE TAFF VALE CASE AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

In 1900 a great blow at Trade Unions was levelled by the Taff Vale Case.[1]

The case arose out of a dispute with the Taff Vale Railway Company, which eventuated in a strike, with picketing and the usual concomitants. At first summonses were issued against certain officials, charged with intimidation and violence, and breaches of contract at their instigation. Then an injunction was sought to restrain the action of the officials and members of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. The injunction was granted, and in giving judgment Mr (now Lord) Justice Farwell enlarged upon the reasons for his decision. This decision was

[1] (1901) A.C. 426.

appealed against, and the Court of Appeal reversed him. The case was then carried to the House of Lords, which court reversed the decision of the Court of Appeal, and supported the judgment of Lord Justice Farwell. The damages and costs of that action cost the Union over £23,000, the Society having to pay for the alleged wrongdoings of its officials and members. Lord Justice Farwell pointed out that "a Trade Union is neither a corporation nor an individual, nor a partnership between individuals," but the House of Lords held that it is sufficiently a corporation to be liable for the acts of its servants, and so the judgment saddled the Union with all the responsibilities of a corporate body, while they were not endowed with corporate rights.[1]

While the Taff Vale Case was pending in the House of Lords most Trade Unionists thought that the decision given would uphold that of the Court of Appeal, but, as above stated, the House of Lords reversed the decision of the Court of Appeal, and upheld the judgment of Lord Justice Farwell. Trade Unionists were astounded and dismayed at the result of that appeal. The decision led to other actions at law for injunctions, and claims for damages, such as the Denaby Main case against the Yorkshire Miners' Association,[2] the "Stop-day" case

[1] Vide *The Legal Position of Trade Unions*, chaps. i., iii., and vi.

[2] (1906) A.C. 384.

of Welsh miners,[1] and many others, to the consternation of the labour world.

FORMATION OF THE LABOUR PARTY

The cases mentioned, and others, together with the injunctions granted, had far-reaching results. Meetings were held. Denunciatory speeches were delivered against judge-made law. A Labour Party was organized of affiliated Trade Unions and Socialist societies to look after the rights of combination, and the welfare of the workers by legislation. A special body was thus created, with the result that at the General Election in 1906 thirty Labour candidates were elected, pledged to act independently of both political parties.

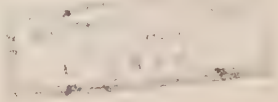
The political body which achieved this result was called the Labour Representation Committee, and under that name it collected funds and directed the electoral campaign at the 1906 General Election. The Labour Representation Committee was charged with the responsible duty of promoting Labour Representation, of selecting or endorsing candidates, of paying, in whole or in part, election expenses, of contributing to local expenditure for registration purposes, and of paying to all those who subscribed to its pledge, £200 a year as Labour Members. In 1906 the Miners' Group were mostly still outside this organization.

[1] Glamorgan Coal Company *v.* South Wales Miners' Federation (1903), 2 K.B. 545.

In the new Parliament two private members introduced Bills relating to the Taff Vale Case and other matters, one of which was read a second time by a large majority, in spite of the fact that the Government had a Bill on the subject. This was deemed insufficient, and in committee the Labour Members were victorious. The Government therefore remodelled their Bill to meet the wishes of the Trade Unionists. The Bill, as amended, was accepted, and the third reading was carried without a division. The Trade Disputes Act, then passed, amended the Law of Conspiracy as regards Labour disputes, legalized peaceful persuasion as regards picketing, protected Trade Unions from actions for procuring breaches of contract when acting in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, and saved them from liability for the wrongful acts of their servants, and made them immune from actions of "tort."[1]

After 1906, the Trade Unions had at their disposal a Labour Party, and had thus developed a definite political organ. Before this, with one or two exceptions, it cannot be said that the Trade Union members were independent of the Liberal party. Prior to 1890 the largest number of Labour Members of all kinds in Parliament was only thirteen. In 1886 some lost their seats, but the majority of Labour Members were again returned, and continued to sit until 1895. After the General Election of 1906, as

[1] See *Legal Position of Trade Unions*, chap. iii.



will be seen in the next chapter, in other ways the Labour Party made its presence felt.

The inclusion of a Labour Member in the Cabinet, as President of the Local Government Board, in 1906, was hailed by those Trade Unionists who did not attach vital importance to independence as a notable victory for Labour. Previously two Labour Members were under-secretaries, one at the Home Office, the other at the Board of Trade. The latter was rewarded by being made a Privy Councillor, the other was sent empty away. A Labour Member had sat as Deputy Chairman in the House of Commons, but the Member for Battersea was the first Labour Cabinet Minister. His promotion and repudiation by the Independent Labour Members marked a definite breach in the two ideas of Labour Representation.

STATUTES AFFECTING LABOUR

The following list of Acts of Parliament passed during the years preceding the advent of the Labour Party will indicate the course of legislation on labour questions, but it does not include measures of a general character in which the working classes are benefited as part of the community.

1890. 53 and 54 Vict. c. 9, "An Act to Amend the Merchant Shipping Acts as regards the Load-Line."

1891. 54 and 55 Vict. c. 47, "An Act to Amend the Metalliferous Mines Regulation Act 1822."

1891. 54 and 55 Vict. c. 75, "An Act to Amend the Factories and Workshops Acts."

1892. 55 and 56 Vict. c. 30, "An Act to Amend the Alkali Works Regulation Act."

1892. 55 and 56 Vict. c. 37, "An Act to Amend the Merchant Shipping Acts as regards the Load-Line and Inspection of Provisions for Crew."

1892. 55 and 56 Vict. c. 62, "The Shop Hours Regulation Act."

1893. 56 and 57 Vict. c. 2, "An Act to exempt the Provident Funds of Trade Unions from the Income-Tax."

1893. 56 and 57 Vict. c. 29, "Hours of Labour of Railway Servants."

1893. 56 and 57 Vict. c. 30, "Friendly Societies, Arbitration."

1893. 56 and 57 Vict. c. 39, "An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts."

1893. 56 and 57 Vict. c. 67, "The Shop Hours Amendment Act. Payment of Expenses out of the Rates."

1894. 57 and 58 Vict. c. 8, "Industrial and Provident Societies."

1894. 57 and 58 Vict. c. 25, "An Act to make Provision for Outdoor Relief to Members of Friendly Societies."

1894. 57 and 58 Vict. c. 28, "An Act to make Provision for Notices of and Inquiries into Accidents."

1894. 57 and 58 Vict. c. 42, "An Act for the Regulation of Quarries for the Prevention of Accidents, etc."

1894. 57 and 58 Vict. c. 52, "An Act to Amend the Coal Mines Act with respect to Interference with Coal-weigher."

1894. 57 and 58 Vict. c. 60, "An Act to Consolidate the Merchant Shipping Acts."

1895. 58 and 59 Vict. c. 5, "An Act to Amend the Shop Hours Act."

1895. 58 and 59 Vict. c. 26, "An Act to Amend the Law relating to Friendly Societies."

1895. 58 and 59 Vict. c. 30, "An Act to Amend the Industrial and Provident Societies Act 1893."

1895. 58 and 59 Vict. c. 36, "Public Inquiry in regard to Fatal Accidents in Scotland."

1895. 58 and 59 Vict. c. 37, "An Act to Amend and Extend the Law relating to Factories and Workshops."

1896. 59 and 60 Vict. c. 25, "An Act to Consolidate the Law relating to Friendly Societies."

1896. 59 and 60 Vict. c. 26, "A similar Act relating to Collecting Societies."

1896. 59 and 60 Vict. c. 30, "An Act to make better Provision for the Prevention and Settlement of Trade Disputes." This is "the Conciliation Act."

1896. 59 and 60 Vict. c. 43, "An Act to Amend the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887."

1896. 59 and 60 Vict. c. 44, "An Act to Amend the Truck Acts."

1897. 60 and 61 Vict. c. 37, "The Compensation for Injuries Act."

1897. 60 and 61 Vict. c. 52, "An Act relating to Dangerous Performances by Young Persons, etc."

1897. 60 and 61 Vict. c. 58, "An Act to Amend the Cotton Cloth Factories Act."

1897. 60 and 61 Vict. c. 59, "An Act to Amend the Merchant Shipping Act."

1898. 61 and 62 Vict. c. 14, "An Act to Amend the Merchant Shipping Act 1894."

1898. 61 and 62 Vict. c. 15, "An Act to enable Friendly and other Societies to borrow money, etc."

1898. 61 and 62 Vict. c. 53, "An Act to Protect Books in Libraries." Promoted by the Co-operative Union.

1899. 62 and 63 Vict. c. 13, "An Act to Amend the Law respecting the Employment and Education of Young Children."

1899. 62 and 63 Vict. c. 21, "An Act to provide for Seats being supplied for Shop Assistants."

1900. 63 and 64 Vict. c. 21, "Prohibition of Child Labour in Mines."

1900. 63 and 64 Vict. c. 22, "Extension of Compensation Act to Agriculture."

1900. 63 and 64 Vict. c. 27, "Prevention of Accidents on Railways."

1900. 63 and 64 Vict. c. 59, "Housing the Working Classes," Part III.

1901. 1 Edw. VII. c. 19, "Public Libraries—General."
1901. 1 Edw. VII. c. 22, "Factory Acts—Consolidation."
1902. 2 Edw. VII. c. 13, "Labour Bureau."
1902. 2 Edw. VII. c. 21, "Shop Clubs."
1903. 3 Edw. VII. c. 7, "Coal Mines Amendment Act."
1903. 3 Edw. VII. c. 39, "Housing the Working Classes."
1903. 3 Edw. VII. c. 45, "Employment of Children."
1904. 4 Edw. VII., Nil.
1905. 5 Edw. VII. c. 9, "Coal Mines."
1905. 5 Edw. VII. c. 10, "Master and Servant—Seamen."
1905. 5 Edw. VII. c. 18, "Unemployed Workmen."
1906. 6 Edw. VII., "Trades Disputes."
1906. 6 Edw. VII., "Workmen's Compensation."
1906. 6 Edw. VII., "Merchant Shipping Act."

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF THE LABOUR PARTY

THE return of thirty candidates of the Labour Representation Committee, in 1906, marked a new era in the history of Trade Unionism. Henceforward the Labour movement had two weapons—the industrial and the political—at its disposal, whereas before the advent of the Labour Party it had to rely on the orthodox parties for its legislative activity.

The history of Labour representation in Parliament has been as follows :—After the collapse of the Chartist movement, for many years Trade Unionists confined themselves to industrial activities. The school of Trade Unionists which arose during this period was in many cases actually hostile to Trade Union political activity.

The London Working Men's Association, founded in 1866, had not among its purposes any direct recognition of Labour Representation, but in fact, after the Association had been in existence for some time resolutions were moved by the secretary "recommending working men to make a united effort to procure the direct representation of Labour interests by the return of working men to Parliament," and advocating the

establishment of a Working Men's Parliamentary Election Fund. All working-class organizations were to be invited to co-operate in this work.

The proposals attracted attention, and several members of Parliament, both Liberal and Conservative, spoke against "class representation." In 1867 a manifesto on the above lines was issued, but at the General Election the six Labour Members who ran all fought as Radicals. Odger and Hartwell, both of whom were to stand as Independents, retired in favour of Liberals.

In 1869 Odger again retired before an official Liberal at Stafford by-election; and Potter, at Nottingham, did the same thing.

LABOUR REPRESENTATION LEAGUE

As a result, the Working Men's Association was supplanted by the Labour Representation League, a body formed solely to return working men to Parliament, and to watch and promote parliamentary Bills.

In 1870 the League ran Odger at Greenwich. He urged arbitration as a substitute for lock-outs and strikes and conventional radicalism. Odger came out second, below the Conservative, beating the Liberal by about four hundred votes. In the same year Odger, at Bristol, and Howell, at Norwich, both retired in favour of official Liberal candidates.

In 1874 the League succeeded in getting two of its members, Thomas Burt and Alexander Macdonald,

returned. Their expenses were paid by the Miners' Union, of which they both were officers. This fact is historically important in connexion with the controversy which afterwards arose upon this subject under the Osborne Judgment.

Fifteen Labour candidates in all stood in 1874, and they obtained a vote of 33,000. Burt stood as Radical-Labour, Howell and Cremer as Radicals, the remainder as Liberal nominees.

Meanwhile the Trade Union Congress considered it unwise to pledge itself to any course of action in respect of Labour Representation in Parliament. It was not until 1876 that the Congress took up the matter of Labour Representation.

In that year a resolution was carried calling upon all Trade Unionists to do the utmost in their power to return competent working men to Parliament.

An attempt, in 1882, to get a special fund set aside for the purpose by Congress failed, and it was not until 1886 that the Congress passed a resolution to form a Labour Electoral Committee to act in conjunction with the Parliamentary Committee and the Labour Representatives in the House of Commons.

LABOUR ELECTORAL ASSOCIATION

This committee, which became a separate organization, was known as the Labour Electoral Association.

Henry Broadhurst was returned for Stoke-on-Trent

as candidate of the Liberal and Labour Party. Among other work he obtained the appointment of working men as Justices of the Peace. By 1885, however, he had very definitely become a member of the Liberal party, and Independent Labour Representation seemed as far off as ever. In that year Arch was returned as a Liberal-Labour Member for Norfolk, on the nomination of the Labourers' Union. Ten other Labour men, two of whom still sit in Parliament, were returned at this election.

Apart from these Liberal-Labour candidatures, in 1885 the Socialists, for the first time, put forward their own candidates, among them John Burns, but none of their candidates were successful.

In 1886 the Labour group was reduced to ten, a number which it maintained until 1906.

The Labour Electoral Association represented 750,000 members in 1890. It remained a semi-Radical association, working in harmony with the Liberal party and refusing, as in Keir Hardie's and Ben Tillett's cases, to split votes with that party. The Socialists also received no support from the Association, a resolution of 1890 refusing support to a candidate who had not been endorsed by a local Trades or Labour Council. It was openly said that " propagandist candidatures " were to be discouraged.

By 1895 the connexion of the Association with the Radical party was complete, and its last congress had been held.

The desire for independence was now too strong to be disregarded. The Socialists and "new" Unionists had broken with the traditional party over the Miners' Eight Hours' Bill, a measure which Broadhurst had opposed. Other differences over Labour disputes had widened the cleavage—differences which found prominent mention in the earlier editions of this work but which are now of little interest—and the quarrel ranged round political as well as industrial matters.

At the Labour Electoral Association Congress of 1890 Keir Hardie carried a resolution in favour of the eight hours' day, and in 1891 he moved for the raising of a parliamentary fund by Trade Unions, but could not carry his suggestion. In 1892, at the Trade Union Congress, instructions were given for a financial scheme to be prepared for running candidates, and this was laid before that body in 1893.

Meanwhile, in 1892, three Independent Labour men, Hardie, Burns, and Wilson, of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, had been returned, exclusive of the ten Liberal-Labour Members above mentioned.

This result increased the agitation for Independent Labour Representation.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

In September of that year a meeting was held with representatives of various Independent Labour organizations and delegates from Trade Union Congress.

A committee was formed, and a conference held in January 1893. The title of Independent Labour Party was chosen, and in 1895 twenty-eight candidates were put forward, but all the candidates, including Hardie, were defeated. In 1894, 1896, and 1897 the Independent Labour Party put forward candidates. In 1898 a member of the party, G. N. Barnes, was elected secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE

At length, in 1899, the Trade Union Congress came into the movement, and co-operated with the Socialists to increase the number of Labour Members in Parliament. As a consequence, in 1900 the Labour Representation Committee came into being. It differed from earlier bodies in including representatives of the Unions and the Socialists and yet being pledged to be a distinct Labour Group in Parliament, with its own whips and policy. The executive committee of twelve included representatives of the Unions, the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party, which shortly afterwards withdrew, and the Fabian Society. The members of it were elected by their affiliated organizations, and a definite affiliation fee was fixed—each organization making itself responsible for its own candidates.

Numerically, the Trade Unionists had a great preponderance, and thus, both formally and financially,

a definite connexion between the Unions and political representation was established.

In 1900 fifteen candidates stood, and Hardie and Bell were returned, while many of the old Liberal-Labour members lost their seats.

In 1901 the Miners' Federation, though remaining unaffiliated, agreed to raise one shilling per annum per member for their own parliamentary fund, and by 1902 many Trade Unions, such as the Postmen's Federation, Boot and Shoe Operatives, Engineers, Boilermakers, Coopers and Barge Builders, were all raising parliamentary funds. In 1903 a definite central fund was established, and the "Group" became a definite Labour Party, and candidates and the Executive were required to refrain from belonging to other political parties. In the same year the Trade Union Congress endorsed the policy of the Labour Representation Committee and urged the Unions to join it.

The action of Mr Bell and others in supporting Liberal candidates was condemned by the Executive, and it was with the confidence of the whole Trade Union movement that the Labour Representation Committee entered into the great fight of 1906.

The value of the combination of political and industrial labour was soon shown in the Trade Union triumph over the Trade Disputes Act.

Since 1900 the issues settled by that measure had been engaging the attention of the Trade Union world

and Parliament, and abortive attempts had been made in 1902, 1903, and 1905 to have the matter settled to the Trade Unionists' satisfaction. The question of Workmen's Compensation also engaged the attention of the Congress during this year.

LABOUR PARTY

For greater unity, a committee was suggested to arrange for monthly meetings of the Labour Party, as it was now called, and the Trade Union Group, which had not yet joined it. A Joint Board was instituted, on which representatives of the Labour Party, Trade Union Congress, and General Federation of Trade Unions sat.

In the Law Courts the case of Denaby Main Collieries Company *v.* Yorkshire Miners' Association, above referred to, in which £150,000 was claimed from the Union on the ground that they had employed their funds maliciously and induced workmen to break their contracts, resulted in judgment for the Trade Union; another case was decided in favour of the Trade Union on the question of peaceful picketing.[1]

A local dispute between the Coachmakers' Society and the Carpenters and Joiners was settled by the parliamentary committee of the Trade Union Congress.

[1] Ward, Lock & Co. *v.* National Society of Printers' Assistants.

RAILWAY DISPUTE

In this year an agitation arose for the improvement of the working conditions of all grades of railwaymen, and a National Programme was drawn up at a special Conference of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, with a view to formulating their demands. Their programme included demands for an eight hours' day for men moving vehicles, and a ten hours' day for other classes of railwaymen. They also demanded overtime payment at a rate and a quarter, and special payment for Sunday labour.

The programme was submitted to the companies in 1907, but the companies made no response, and a large majority of the men voted on a strike for these objects and to ensure recognition of the Union.

At this stage, though the companies refused to see the Union leaders, the Board of Trade prepared a scheme of compromise by the formation of sectional Conciliation Boards for each railway, and a Central Board, with representatives of the companies and men, the men's representatives having themselves to be employees in the particular grade of work represented.

This scheme was accepted, and continued in working until 1911, when, after the great railway strike of that year, fresh arrangements were made.

1907–10

In 1907 the Labour Party Conference unanimously agreed to raise the levy to twopence—an attempt to declare Socialism the ultimate object of the Labour Party failed, as did also an attempt to confine candidates and the movement generally to Trade Unionists.

During this year the Joint Board considered favourably the idea of instituting labour exchanges, provided that such exchanges were not used to the detriment of the Trade Unions.

A discussion on Labour unity, arising out of the failure of negotiations between the Labour Party and the Liberal Trade Union Group, took place at Congress, and finally it was decided to continue to try and find a *modus vivendi*. The suggestion of a Labour daily newspaper was mooted at the same place, and a resolution favouring compulsory arbitration was lost.

In 1907 an Independent Socialist candidate, Victor Grayson, was returned to Parliament, and the interest of the public in Trade Union and Socialist affairs was further kindled by the victory of Peter Curran at Jarrow. Labour disputes at Belfast led to the shooting of two persons, a matter which was taken up by the Trade Union world. 1908 saw the passing of the Old Age Pensions and the Miners' Eight Hours' Acts, both largely owing to the insistence of the Labour Party.

During this year unemployment became very great, 4·7 of Trade Unionists being out of work, and in conse-

quence the Labour Party prepared a Bill dealing with the unemployed on lines laid down by the Joint Board. The Bill, known as the Right to Work Bill, attracted considerable attention. At the Labour Party Conference, in 1908, at Hull, a resolution in favour of Socialism, declaring it to be the object of the party, was carried. In 1908 the number of members of Trade Unions affiliated to the Labour Party had grown to 1,121,256, while 1,700,000 members were represented at the Trade Union Congress.

A serious trade dispute in the shipbuilding trade occurred on the north-east coast. Proposals were made for settlement by the Joint Board.

The cause of Labour unity was advanced by the final agreement between the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Committee of Congress, and the Liberal Trade Union Group to have joint monthly meetings and to agree not to oppose their respective sitting members.

The work of promoting a Labour newspaper was advanced a stage by a scheme for raising £100,000 being approved by Congress.

A proposal to amalgamate the Labour Party, Congress, and General Federation Conferences was mooted at the Congress, but defeated by a large majority.

In 1909 the miners' members formally joined the Labour Party and the Scottish societies were directly affiliated. The constitution of the Joint Board was revised, and the Women's Labour League affiliated to the Labour Party.

During this year the Poor Law Commission reported and the Trade Union Congress adopted the Minority Report, which had been signed, among others, by Mr Chandler, a member of the parliamentary committee.

The case of Conway *v.* Wade turned upon the definition of a trade dispute in the Trade Disputes Act 1906, and gave what some Trade Unionists thought to be a somewhat narrow interpretation to that phrase.

At the Trade Union Congress the action of Mr Bell for his conduct in the dispute between the North-Eastern Railway and the Railway Clerks' Association came in for severe criticism. An apology from Mr Bell closed the incident.

In 1909, at the General Election, forty Labour Members, including the miners, were returned, and the membership of the party rose to 1,400,648.

THE OSBORNE CASE

The Osborne Case, which had begun in 1908, was finally decided in the House of Lords in December of 1909 against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, who were restrained from raising a parliamentary levy on the ground that such an act was beyond the powers of Trade Unions, and that the signing of a pledge by members of Parliament to obey a particular party was contrary to public policy.

Labour Exchanges were established during 1909, and also Trade Boards, both with the support of the Labour Party.

Little was said about the Osborne Judgment at the Labour Party Conference, but as time went on its effects became more and more severely felt. A proposal to amalgamate the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress was carried.

During 1910 there occurred a recrudescence of unrest in the labour world. Serious strikes occurred among the miners of South Wales, railwaymen, boilermakers, cotton operatives, and women chain-workers of Cradley Heath. A refusal to accept the payment of members as a substitute for the reversal of the Osborne Judgment was registered by the Trade Union Congress. Once again the proposal to unite Congress and the Labour Party was defeated. A proposal which was mooted to amalgamate Unions by industries found favour. The administration of Labour Exchanges was severely criticized.

1911

By 1911 the labour disquiet had increased to very considerable dimensions. The Osborne Judgment, by curtailing political action, tended to bring the weapon of the strike more and more into prominence.

To facilitate its reversal, one of the reasons for the judges' decision, the pledging of Labour Members, was removed by the Labour Party Conference, members in future being required only to "abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests

of any other party and accept the responsibilities established by parliamentary practice."

At the beginning of 1911 injunctions restraining Unions from levying money for parliamentary purposes had already been granted against the compositors, engineers, miners, postmen, cotton spinners, and others. On 22nd November 1910, the Prime Minister had promised legislation dealing with the matter empowering Trade Unions "to include in their objects and organization the provision of a fund for parliamentary and municipal action and kindred objects, and to combine for such purposes, provided that the opinion of the Union is effectively ascertained and no compulsion is exercised upon any member to contribute to this fund." The Right to Work Bill, which had been redrafted by the party's parliamentary counsel, was also endorsed by the Labour Party Conference, but by this time unemployment was fast decreasing and the concern of the Trade Unions was rather with the right to better wages than the right to employment.

Before the meeting of Congress, a great strike among the railway and transport workers had taken place, and others were imminent. The chief reasons appear to have been the economic conditions prevailing and the refusal of the employers in many instances to receive the accredited representatives of the men.

On account of their magnitude, the circumstances of these great strikes are well worth considering in detail.

DOCK STRIKES

In January 1911 men were out on the North-Eastern Railway and at the Liverpool docks, the quarrel in both cases being about rises in wages, though in South Wales the miners' dispute was temporarily composed. Preparations, however, were in progress for a strike of British seamen, and foreign co-operation sought. In June the Seamen and Firemen's Union started a strike at Southampton, and a general strike was predicted.

The dispute rapidly spread to the Clyde, while at Southampton Messrs Rea acknowledged the men's Union and agreed to a committee of investigation. On 14th June a general strike was declared, the "signal" calling the sailors, firemen, cooks, and men of other grades to refuse to engage for service on all vessels until the demands of the Unions had been taken into consideration. In London, Liverpool, Manchester, Cardiff, and other ports the call was answered, and a notice was issued by the International Seamen's leaders calling on the men to refuse to sign on for less than £5, 10s. a month, and demanding a Conciliation Board.

Almost immediately concessions were made by the employers. Up to this time the monthly rate had varied from £3, 10s. to £5, and already the latter wage had been admitted by many shipowners as reasonable.

Meanwhile the dockers had seized the opportunity to bring forward their own demands. In Southampton and Glasgow many dockers and stevedores joined the

seamen. By 23rd June, however, several companies had agreed to increases, and a partial settlement was arrived at. A conference of owners was held, and further concessions, involving the recognition of the Union and increases of wages, were made.

Emboldened by these successes, the railwaymen, weavers, and gasworkers all began to make demands for increases in wages, and the Northumberland miners considered the question of a "national stoppage."

It was reported on 30th June that the Seamen's Conference, presided over by Sir G. Askwith, had broken down. Some of the shipping federation said that they could afford an increase in wages, but not others. Disorder occurred, particularly at Liverpool, with serious rioting, and the shortage of food supplies began to make itself felt.

The railwaymen now began to threaten to leave their work, and the dockers definitely threw in their cause with the seamen. Soldiers were in readiness to proceed to Liverpool and Hull; but on 4th July many of the outstanding shipping firms conceded the terms already agreed to by the other firms, and many of the dockers and seamen resumed work, and by 11th July the seamen's strike was at an end. The average increase in monthly wages was 7s. 6d., and in many cases increases of 10s. to 15s. were recorded.

The carmen, however, particularly in Liverpool, and the transport workers generally in London, still continued their demands.

While the position in the provinces grew easier, that in London became more strained; conferences were held during the early part of July between the Transport Workers' Union, the Port of London Authority, and the shipowners.

South Wales, also, had stood outside the general agreement, and here the strike again showed signs of spreading. Among those who joined with the seamen were coal-trimmers, millworkers, brewery employees, factory hands, and other classes of workmen and workwomen. One great obstacle to peace was that any recognition of Trade Unions which the employers might concede excluded the railwaymen.

With this exception, by the end of July the Unions in South Wales had been recognized, and £150,000 increase had been suggested in settlement of the London dockers' dispute, and there appeared to be a prospect of the termination of that industrial warfare which had been raging intermittently through the year.

These hopes, however, were destined to be disappointed. On 1st August the dockers' demands were still unsettled. By 2nd August 5000 dock labourers in London were out, the issue apparently being whether the men should go back to work before agreement was reached or after it.

Next day the lightermen and watermen came out.

By 9th August trade at the port of London was

paralysed, but, serious as was the situation, the uneasiness was rapidly overshadowed by the threatening aspect of the railwaymen.

RAILWAY STRIKE

The railway workers, as will be remembered, had been associated, particularly in the north, with the seamen and transport workers. The trouble began on the Lancashire and Yorkshire railway, and spread to the London and North-Western. Simultaneously the Bristol goods men on the Great Western Railway ceased work. By 9th August 4000 railwaymen were out on strike, and some places in the north were also affected.

On the 16th August, a week later, a joint meeting of the various railway Unions offered the railway companies "twenty-four hours to decide whether they were prepared to meet representatives of the Trade Unions and negotiate a basis of settlement." The executives went on to declare that the "unfortunate condition of affairs had been created by the vexatious attitude of the railway companies towards the working of the Conciliation Scheme of 1907."

The Government then proceeded to organize the military to ensure the keeping open of the railways, while, on the other hand, the transport workers attempted to increase the area of their dispute.

In Liverpool the tramwaymen also came out on

strike. Already traffic was partly suspended and food rising in price.

In the House of Commons the Labour Party held conferences with the Government and put the views of the men before them.

Next day the agreement between the London transport workers and their employers was signed on the basis of the earlier agreement, but by this time 200,000 railwaymen were out.

Offers for a conference were made by the Government, and these were accepted by the men's leaders. The men then gradually resumed work, and the conference, consisting of representatives of the companies, men, and Government, met on 21st August.

An agreement was arrived at that the Conciliation Boards should meet, the men be reinstated, and a special committee of inquiry appointed.

A strike broke out in Ireland during September among the railwaymen without much result.

On 21st October the railway inquiry reported, they agreed that the Conciliation Scheme should be continued, but that the Central Board should be dissolved. Partial recognition of the Trade Unions was accorded by allowing the men at the Conciliation meetings to employ, as their advocate or secretary, a person who was not an employee of the particular railway concerned.

The settlement provoked some hostility among the more advanced section of the men, but as a whole was

accepted, and under it the men have received very substantial increases of wages.

This settlement, with the conclusion of a strike of taxicab drivers, concluded the industrial disputes of 1911.

It was a unique year for the severity of the strikes and the number of the men affected by them, and their occurrence, together with the great coal strike of 1912, has left a permanent effect upon the nation with regard to the respect which is now paid to the power of Trade Unions and industrial organization generally.

According to the Board of Trade report, the total number of workpeople involved in disputes during 1911 was 931,050, the highest number recorded in any year during the period 1893-1911. The aggregate duration of all the disputes in progress (10,247,100 working days) has been exceeded in four years only.

The number of workpeople involved in the disputes in the transport trades was 448,618, those disputes accounting for the loss of 2,750,000 working days ; and the textile trades disputes affected 221,433 workpeople, who lost 1,500,000 working days. Two million working days were lost in 1911 by the Welsh coal strike, which began in 1910.

The principal causes of disputes were questions of wages and Trade Unionism, the former involving 46 per cent. of the workpeople affected and the latter 39 per cent.

Settlements in the nature of compromises were arranged in regard to 84 per cent. of the workpeople involved ; 7 per cent. of the workpeople were wholly successful ; 9 per cent. were wholly unsuccessful.

LABOUR PARTY IN 1912

By the beginning of 1912 the membership of the Labour Party had risen to over a million and a half. The number of Trade Unions affiliated had, however, slightly fallen, owing, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, to the operation of injunctions under the Osborne Judgment. During 1911 the Cotton Spinners and Engineers had been added to the number of Trade Unions restrained from levying for parliamentary representation, and though the Government introduced a Bill to remedy the grievance, it proceeded no further than the second reading.

The Joint Board recommended the Labour Party not to support the Bill unless it were drastically amended. The question of unification of labour forces, with a suggestion of a central building in Westminster for the Labour movement, was also suggested by the Joint Board.

The membership of the General Federation of Trade Unions also reached its highest point, over 700,000, during 1911. The Labour newspaper project at last emerged in a practical state, the scheme providing for three directors representing the Trade Union move-

ment, three the Independent Labour Party, three the Labour Party, and one representing the private shareholders. *The Daily Citizen* actually appeared in October 1912.

The wholesale employment of troops during the strikes called for adverse comment from the Labour Party. The National Insurance Act, under which Trade Unions can become approved societies, had met with general approval in principle at a special conference. The party as a whole succeeded in getting many important amendments carried.

COAL-MINERS' STRIKE

The impending trouble in the mining trade was mentioned at the Labour Party Conference. The demand of the miners in the first place had reference to their wages in abnormal places and generally to a minimum wage. On 27th January a meeting was held between the coal owners and miners in England, excluding Northumberland and Durham.

During February negotiations proceeded, and while at one time it was thought that agreement would be arrived at, the restriction of compromise to the English area made progress impossible. On 20th February the Prime Minister invited representatives of both sides to meet him and discuss the matter. The coal-owners offered 7s. 1½d. per day for abnormal

places, and 6s. 1½d. for other workings. The miners objected to these terms, but for some time the negotiations proceeded.

The miners scheduled their own demands, varying from 7s. 6d. per day in Yorkshire to 6s. in the Midland area. Conferences were again renewed. On 26th February the first strike notices expired, and from then on an increasing number of men left the pits at the order of the Miners' Federation.

The miners entered the contest with over £2,000,000 of funds and a membership of 600,000.

By the 29th of February 115,000 miners were on strike, and Mr Asquith had already laid proposals for peace before the owners. The Prime Minister conceded that "upon careful consideration, there are cases in which underground employees cannot earn a reasonable minimum wage from causes over which they have no control," and asked the owners to confer on these terms.

This the English owners were willing to do, but those of Scotland and South Wales were obdurate.

On 1st March it was reported that 800,000 miners were idle, and many other industries were ceasing to be carried on. Brickyards, potteries, ironworks, steelworks, and cotton factories were all closed down.

Meanwhile a "sympathetic" strike in France and in Germany held but little hope of assistance from importation. Railway services were suspended.

MINIMUM WAGE ACT

The Labour Party now held joint meetings with the miners, and rumours of a Minimum Wage Bill began to spread. Statements that the Labour Party and miners were not in accord were denied by Mr Macdonald and the miners. Over 150,000 persons, exclusive of the miners themselves, were now unemployed. Yet further conferences were held, until finally, on the failure of the last conference, on 16th March, it was announced that a Minimum Wage Bill would be introduced within a week of that time.

Up to this time the strike is estimated to have cost £5,600,000 in wages, and to have caused the loss of twenty million days of labour.

On 20th March, three weeks after the beginning of the strike, the Prime Minister introduced the Bill. It set up in each area a wages board consisting of employers and employed, with a chairman appointed by the Board of Trade. The Board would fix a minimum wage, below which no contract of service could be made. No penal provisions attached to the infringement, but its breach would give a right of action in a civil court.

The Bill became law some weeks later, in substantially the same form in which it had been introduced, the attempt of the miners to introduce actual figures for a minimum into the Bill having failed.

Like the railway strike, the miners' strike was

justified, at any rate financially, by the result. Already under the measure considerable increases of wages have been made and the difficulty of fair treatment in abnormal places done away with.

RISE OF SYNDICALIST IDEAS

During the agitations of 1911-12 a new conception of Trade Union activity, to which the name of Syndicalism had been given, began to attract attention.

The movement arose in France, and had its origin in a revolt against orthodox collective Socialism and represented a desire that the workers in each trade should control their own destiny.

The methods by which this was to be achieved were various, ranging from direct terrorism by destruction of property, sabotage, to the milder method suggested by some of the Welsh miners, to work badly and so make the mines valueless.

The strength of the movement in England was much exaggerated, and even among the South Wales miners and transport workers the advocates of anti-parliamentary unionism were in a very small minority. At Congress in 1912 the supporters of Syndicalism received 43,000 votes to 1,693,000 against.

The notion of federation of Trade Unions, however, irrespective of the idea of ultimate government by them, is keenly advocated by nearly all supporters of the Trade Union movement.

DOCK STRIKE, 1912

Later in 1912, a second dock strike took place, but this, unlike the former one, was unsuccessful, and although Sir E. Clark held that the allegations of the dockers that the shippers had failed to carry out the agreement of 1911 were partly well founded, the dockers obtained little satisfaction. A general strike was called, but met with little response, and the prestige of Trade Unionism, which had been so enhanced by the miners' dispute, suffered somewhat, particularly in London, from the dockers' failure. Industrial warfare also raged, during the year, in the cotton trade and among the jute spinners and Glasgow dockers. During May the London tailors struck for advances and reduction of hours.

The report of the Registrar-General at the end of 1910 shows the membership of registered Trade Unions to have been 2,017,656. The expenditure during that year was £3,137,085. In the ten-year periods preceding, the figures were as follows :—

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Members	211,091	645,451	1,572,861	2,017,656
Income	£240,448	£990,872	£2,256,291	£3,187,415
Balance of Funds	£284,969	£1,102,147	£4,137,660	£5,925,356

A large number of Trade Unions are unregistered, but we shall not be far wrong in estimating the total Trade Union membership of the United Kingdom at the beginning of 1913 at over three millions.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORK OF TRADE UNIONS

TRADE UNIONS are voluntary associations for mutual protection and assistance. The earlier Trade Unions were compelled to be secret, by reason of the stringency of the Combination Laws. After the failure of the agitation for the enforcement of the statutory fixing of wages, in all the movements, agitations, and demands of the earlier Unionists, the claim was advanced, for the right to combine—to associate openly and freely together for mutual protection and support. In the enrolment of members this principle was fully recognized. The candidate for admission, upon being initiated a member, was asked sundry questions, the chief being whether he was *willing* to become a member; and then whether he was willing to be bound by the rules of the Union—a copy of which was placed in his hands, and, lest there should be any mistake about the matter, certain rules were often read to him "in open lodge," and he was asked if he consented to be bound by those rules.

Workmen fought for the liberty to combine, which the law forbade. Employers, taking advantage of the law, endeavoured to crush every effort at

combination. Educated society supported the prohibitory laws, and also the action of capitalist classes, manufacturers, merchants, and traders, in the attempts made to put down all concerted action in the withholding of labour. Of late years, the struggle has principally centred round the procurement of breaches of contract by Trade Unions. By the Trade Disputes Act 1906, the Unions, as such, are protected from this class of action when there is a trade dispute, and generally, the right of free association is now conceded; the courts, in addition, have been expressly restrained by statute from interfering in domestic inter-union affairs.[1] This latter restriction has, however, been systematically whittled down by judicial decision,[2] and a new tendency has recently developed which has tended to hold Trade Unions to be as a whole corporate bodies rather than voluntary associations, and to make them corporately liable to be sued in their registered name and corporately restricted to specific powers given them by the legislature.[3] It is, therefore, somewhat difficult to say to-day how far a Trade Union remains in the eyes of the law, as it is in fact, a purely "voluntary" association.

According to the law, the primary objects of a Trade Union are to be found in the Trade Union Acts. They include the regulation of the relations

[1] (1871) 34 & 35 Vict. c. 34, st. 4.
[2] See *The Legal Position of Trade Unions*, chaps. iv. and v.
[3] *E.g.* The Taff Vale Case (1901); the Osborne Case (1910).

of masters and workmen, the placing of restrictions on trade (this referring to a masters' Trade Union), and the general provision of benefits. Many other subsidiary objects are, however, to be found among the purposes of Trade Unions, the exact form in which advantages are sought to be secured depending upon the nature of the trade in which the members are engaged, and the surrounding circumstances.

STANDARD RATE

All Unions are agreed upon one point—namely, the securing and maintaining of the highest minimum rate of wages possible. In seeking to obtain that highest rate, an advance is sought on the basis of rate of payment, not of equality of wages, and a reduction is resisted in like manner. Nor is uniformity insisted upon, although there is a tendency to uniformity, in given districts, for the same kind of work which is equal in quantity and quality. In branches of trade belonging to what might be called the same department of industry, the men in the several branches look for something approaching to relative uniformity. For example, in the engineering trade the mechanics of various classes approximate to the same rates, in the same district; but the rates of wages in different towns vary. These rates have had a tendency to be fixed rather with regard to the

particular Union which is concerned with the particular trade than with respect to the job itself, a habit which sometimes tended to produce the inter-union disputes referred to later, but the effect of amalgamations is to tend to make rates more uniform.

The standard rate is, as above pointed out, a minimum rate, below which no member of the Union may work. It frequently occurs that the actual wage earned is considerably above it. In many trades higher rates are offered, without objection, to persons of special skill. The stone masons and builders have agreements to this effect.

This question of the difference between the standard minimum rate and actual rate earned depends very largely on whether the remuneration is based on the hours spent on labour or the amount of work actually done, that is, on the " time " or " piece " rate. In either case superior efficiency may be recognized by higher pay, but in the case of piecework the distinction is usually more marked.

Of the Trade Unionists of the country, about twice as many insist on piecework rather than time work, while about half the number who recognize time work are willing to accept both methods of remuneration.

The miners, who now, together with the " sweated " workers, receive a statutory minimum wage, and the cotton and boot and shoe operatives are among the chief piecework Unions, while the boilermakers and

compositors accept both systems ; on the other hand the stone masons and builders insist upon time work. Among the engineers, special contracts for special jobs are often made.

The ease or difficulty of pricing each separate job and the nature of the trade are the principal explanations of this divergence.

HOURS OF LABOUR

As regards hours of labour, there is more uniformity than in matters of wages. While the law has only interfered with minimum wages in the cases of the coal trade and sweated industries, the hours of labour in coal mines, on railways, and in factories are in many instances regulated by statute. Even when there is no legal limitation of hours, what is termed the normal working day almost necessarily becomes the actual working day for all engaged in the particular trade ; although it does not always follow that the hours will be the same in all places. Still, there is a natural tendency in that direction. Where nine or eight hours are established as a working day, in any trade, the tendency is for that system to become general. But here again a town or a district has its own minimum or maximum. Perhaps the chief reason why a reduction of working hours has been more stubbornly resisted by employers than advances in wages is, because of the natural

tendency to uniformity in the hours of a normal working day. Wages may go up ; they may subsequently be pressed down ; but a reduction in working hours is not so easily upset. The short Saturday, once conceded, was never seriously tampered with afterwards ; the "Saturday half-holiday," once given, has remained intact. The requirements of trade, the necessities of the community, the health and comforts of the workers, the wages of labour, all these, and other considerations, must and will eventually determine the length of the working day, and already the Labour Party is striving for general legislation on the subject. Meanwhile the Unions and Socialist bodies are alike seeking to enlist public sympathy, and the former are rapidly educating their own members in favour of shorter hours. By the efforts of the Unions from eight to ten hours per week have been taken off, in most of the skilled trades, within the last forty years.

The question of overtime is one in which the officers and the leaders of thought in the Unions are often in advance of the desires of the members. There has long existed a kind of undefined sentiment in favour of the abolition of overtime ; and it was thought that the demand for extra pay for all time worked beyond the nominal day would in time put a stop to it. Instead of which it has, often, stimulated the men engaged in various trades to desire it. The Unions have not been able to put the practice down completely, although steps in that direction have

been taken with some effect. For the most part, the Unions restrict their action to what is known as "systematic overtime." The passing of a forty-eight hours' week measure would settle the question.

APPRENTICESHIP

The apprenticeship system used to be a constant bone of contention in many trades. At present the disputes are not numerous, but they occur sometimes. The interest in apprenticeship is a legacy bequeathed to the Trade Unions by law and custom. Originated by the early guilds, it ran through the whole system, and survives in a few corporate towns to this day. The custom was early embodied in law; it formed one of the chief provisions in the Statute of Elizabeth, and centuries elapsed ere the stringency of the law was relaxed, and many more years before its provisions were wholly repealed. The Unions generally sought to perpetuate the law and custom of apprenticeships, believing, firstly, that the system ensured capable craftsmen; and, secondly, that this system regulated the supply of labour into trades. The first object was, and is, good. Everybody will admit the value of any provision or regulation which will tend to secure competent workmen and good workmanship. Upon the second there is great diversity of opinion, the tendency being, in all branches of industry, to extend freedom, not to limit it. One great aim of the Unions is to keep up a standard of

efficiency. The candidate for admission must be able to earn the current wages of the district, or the prices ruling in the trade. Wages have a constant tendency towards a lower level. That tendency is always accelerated by a large influx of less skilled labour into any branch of trade ; it is also accelerated by further minute subdivisions of labour, requiring either only partial skill, or such skill as can be acquired in a short time. It is natural, therefore, that Trade Unions, representing the highest skill in their respective branches of industry, should seek to enforce apprenticeships with the view of keeping up the standard of workmanship, and with it the standard rate of wages. On the other hand, there is a strong tendency to regard the right to work at a trade as an hereditary right, and this notion, which is a strong one, frequently conflicts with the desire for efficiency. On the whole, however, the majority of the Trade Unions are against the system of restricting membership to apprentices, about three-fifths of them favouring admission to their trade without any restriction whatever.

NON-UNION LABOUR

The practice of refusing to work with non-Union workmen is a more fruitful source of dispute. In some of the Unions the men definitely refuse to work with non-Union men. The legal aspect of this question has been touched upon in an earlier part of this chapter ; it will be reverted to later on. It is

now perfectly lawful for men to refuse to work with non-Unionists, and the practice of picketing them, or endeavouring to get them to break their existing contracts, has been legalized. Looked at from its purely social aspect, much can be urged in favour of the utmost pressure being applied to induce workmen to belong to the Union. Those who persistently remain outside, neglect an obvious duty—the duty of doing their part to keep up the current rates of wages, and maintain a maximum working day. Non-Unionists are always ready to take advantage of the fruits of others' labours ; they ought to partake of some share in sowing the seed. But this is not all that can be laid to their charge ; they hang on the outskirts of the Union as a drag, and, in times of dispute, they go in to take the places of men who are fighting, not for themselves only, but for the whole trade. Efficient organization is the proper cure. The Union should be made so attractive, by reason of its benefits and advantages, that even the men who habitually shirk duty and responsibility will seek its protection and obey its mandates, from necessity, if not from choice.

Both at the Trade Union Congress of 1912 and the Labour Party Conference of 1913, proposals were made that agreements come to between representative masters and Unions should be binding on the whole trade. As yet no definite decision has been come to on this important matter, which so closely affects the non-Unionists.

FUNERAL BENEFIT

Besides the enforcement of a standard wage and day, and the regulation of the conditions of work regarding those who enter a trade and those who labour in it, there remain those important questions of Trade Unions which are concerned with insuring the members against unemployment, or sickness, and death. Of all these benefits, Funeral Benefit is probably one of the oldest in connexion with Trade Unions; it is coeval with the establishment of the earliest form of labour combinations. It would be difficult to find any trade society, in early or later times, in which some provision was not made for the "decent Christian burial" of its members. The institution has survived to this day, nearly 90% of the Unions giving funeral benefit. It was probably this feature, in all the pioneer Unions, which gave rise to the notion that Friendly Society objects constituted the fundamental basis of Trade Unions, and that, in later times, they were perverted or diverted from their original purposes by tacking on the protection of trade privileges, as an integral part of their functions. The "New Unionism," on the other hand, went to the other extreme, and alleged that the Unions had been perverted from their original purpose, and had become "mere benefit clubs." As a matter of fact, the term "Friendly Society" was used as part of the title of some of the Unions

dating back to the beginning of the present century —as, for example, the Friendly Society of Stonemasons, the Friendly Society of Ironfounders, and some others. But the term "Friendly" had often attached to it the meaning of "mutual," in the sense of mutual protection and mutual aid, in whatever form either the one or the other was afforded. Possibly the protection afforded by the first Friendly Society Acts might have induced the workmen in some trades to use the title as a cover to combination for trade purposes; but provident objects in some form always formed an ingredient in societies actually established in connexion with labour, except possibly a mere provisional combination for a temporary object.

The nature and method of paying funeral benefit varies in different Unions; sometimes it only covers bare funeral expenses, sometimes a grant is made, in addition, to surviving dependants. About one-tenth of Trade Union funds are devoted to this benefit.

SICK BENEFIT

This benefit was introduced at a much later date. Irregular assistance was often rendered by voluntary collections, lotteries, raffles, friendly meetings, and the like, long before distinctive provision was made therefor in the rules of any society; and those forms of help are still resorted to in some trades in which no relief is provided by the constitution of the Union.

The following Table shows the amount paid in provident benefit during a portion of the nineteenth century:—

Name of Society	1869	1879	1889
	£	£	£
Amalgamated Engineers	5,600	7,387	9,289
Steam-Engine Makers	565	617	1,011
Boilermakers and Iron-Shipbuilders	1,138	2,379	3,993
Ironfounders	1,355	2,160	2,117
Ironmoulders—Scotland	1,156	1,750	1,827
Associated Blacksmiths	149	170	198
Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners	829	2,003	2,901
Operative Stonemasons	3,356	4,976	1,928
,, Bricklayers	297	741	1,003
,, Plasterers	581	512	378
Amalgamated Tailors	261	2,515	2,688
London Society of Compositors	383	986	1,374
Typographical Association	No Benefit	628	718
U.K. Society of Coachmakers	1,471	1,691	996

Provident benefit is to be found in some of the Unions of a very early date, and a few had actually introduced the Provident principle, in a crude kind of form, towards the close of the eighteenth century. From 1824 to 1834 the principle was extended, but it was made an integral part of the constitution of only a very few Unions. Among those who had formulated a scheme of friendly or provident benefits, in connexion with the purely "trade benefits," may be mentioned the steam-engine makers, the ironfounders, and a few others. The records of those attempts survive to this day. But the benefits were very restricted, being confined to one or two objects. The

system of regular contributions, for definite purposes, only dates back about one hundred years. During one-half of that period the objects were confined to trade purposes only, such as strikes, defence in cases of prosecutions, and to "funeral benefit." Other benefits were added subsequently, as Trade Unionism progressed and developed, and as they recognized the importance of consolidating their power and conserving their energy for the great industrial conflicts which they had to face.

Several reasons influenced the earlier Unions in adopting a system of friendly benefits, as part of, or in connexion with, the organization of the trade society. In the first place, as has been already pointed out, friendly societies were legalized and encouraged in the last decade of the eighteenth century, thus affording a kind of shelter under which to combine. Secondly, mutual assistance being the essence of a Trade Union, nothing was more natural than that some provision should be made for the common casualties of life among workmen, such as sickness and privation. Thirdly, the earlier Unions found great difficulty in keeping their members together; the bond was weak and insufficient. The members dropped away when the emergency which called the Union into existence had passed over. This was the experience of most Unions, is indeed the experience now in many industrial occupations. Fourthly, the funds of the Unions were unprotected, while those of

the Friendly Society were protected by law. This last consideration operated strongly fifty or sixty years ago, and thenceforward until the year 1867 and onward to 1871, when both the friendly and trade activities of Trade Unions were legalized. Eighteen per cent. of Trade Union expenditure is for sickness and accident benefits; about 5s. 9d. per member per annum. About 80 per cent. of the Unions pay sickness or accident benefit in some form or other.

A later development of far-reaching importance, the full consequences of which cannot yet be predicted, has occurred in consequence of the passing of the National Insurance Act 1911. By that statute practically the whole of the class from which the membership of Trade Unions is recruited are required to be insured against sickness, the payment being made partly by the employer, partly by the workman, and partly by the State.

A Trade Union may become an "approved society," administering benefits under the Act, or may establish a separate section for that purpose, and, in fact, the majority of the Trade Unions have taken one or the other of these two courses. A considerable number have become a separate section for this purpose under the General Federation of Trade Unions. While it is provided that the Insurance Commissioners are to make as little interference as may be with Trade Unions seeking approval, it is a little difficult to see how such control can be avoided, seeing

that the Trade Unions will be receiving and spending State money, a circumstance which almost invariably sooner or later produces State intervention.

In the matter of security, valuation, and provision for possible deficit it is inevitable that the Commissioners will exercise a very considerable degree of control. How far such semi-State control is compatible with militant organization is highly questionable.

SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCE

Another form of benefit frequently given is that of superannuation allowance. The age at which this benefit comes into operation differs somewhat in the various societies, and also the amounts payable by them to aged members, after a certain number of years' membership. This benefit is one of the latest which Trade Unions have added to their already long list of liabilities and responsible duties, and is at present paid by about 40 per cent. of the Trade Unions. It is a branch of mutual industrial business often attacked by men who have made the statistics of mortality a special study, and have constructed elaborate comparative tables of the duration of human life, under varying conditions ; and doubtless it is the one benefit in the social economy of the Unions which is the most open to criticism on purely actuarial grounds. At one time the hostile attacks upon this benefit were due, not so much to any desire to see the Unions placed upon

a footing of permanent security as regards this provision in their rules, and, as such, made part and parcel of their internal economy, constitution, and administration, as to the feeling of regugnance with which Trade Unions were regarded *per se*, whatever their benefits and useful purposes. That feeling has, to a great extent at least, died out. From twenty to twenty-five years ago the attacks were persistent and constant ; but as years passed by, and the Unions met all their engagements, and as the beneficial effects of this and other provisions become more widely known and appreciated, the criticisms lost their virulence, while the experience gained in the working of this benefit has not been without effect. The strain on the societies which provide it is, however, a serious one, The additional demands made by this benefit on the funds grow year by year, ending only in the one final payment, funeral allowance, at death.

In one or two instances disaster has been averted only by the most self-sacrificing efforts on the part of the members ; but in these cases the fault did not lie at the door of the Union. One example will suffice. After the financial crisis in 1866, and the crash which followed the suspension of payment by Messrs Overend and Gurney's Bank, trade was at a low ebb, employment was difficult to obtain, sickness had increased in consequence of scarcity and privation, and the demands upon Trade Union funds, for nearly all

purposes, were very severe. The Ironfounders' Society felt the strain acutely, but bravely nerved itself for the struggle. The funds got so low that it became necessary for a stupendous effort to be made to meet the weekly payments. At this crisis every member who could afford to temporarily forgo his due, did so, in order that others more pressed by want should not suffer. The members lent their little store to the Union, with no other security than a note of hand, acknowledging the liability. In this way the Union was saved. Every man was subsequently paid in full, back payments and loans.

Of recent years, in certain Unions many of the difficulties have been met by the creation of superannuation reserve funds. The Old Age Pension Act 1908 has lessened the necessity for the benefit. Thirteen per cent. of Trade Union money goes to sick benefit, which is 5s. 7d. per member.

ACCIDENT BENEFIT

This benefit is of yet more recent growth than most of the preceding, though the Amalgamated Society of Engineers made provision for it in their rules, when the reorganization took place, in 1851. This benefit is confined to the more hazardous trades, and therefore some of the societies previously enumerated do not include it in their rules. The amounts payable in the event of injury by accident are usually

divided in two classes, the highest being awarded in cases of total disablement from following his occupation in consequence of the injury ; the other in cases of partial disablement, when the member is no longer able to take his vacant place at the trade, but is able to follow some lighter occupation.

The amounts paid in this benefit have diminished largely since the Workmen's Compensation Act has been in operation. Of course many of the claims of members under this head would not in any case be met, for one reason or another, by the Workmen's Compensation Act.

OUT-OF-WORK BENEFIT

It is, however, the Out-of-Work Allowance which distinguishes the Trade Union from all other Provident Societies. Donation Benefit, as this provision is usually named, is of comparatively modern date, although the Ironfounders have a record of its existence continuously since the year 1830, in which year a sum of nearly £366 was paid to members out of work. Some years ago, when the Unions were fighting their way to obtain legal recognition, and protection to their funds, no doubt strike pay was given under the more euphonious name of Donation Benefit, the difference being in the amount so paid, which is usually higher in the case of a dispute than for loss of employment by slackness in trade. The

form in which such relief to members out of work was first given was "travelling relief," vulgarly called "tramp benefit." In those days it was usual for a member to "draw his card," and seek work wherever he heard of a possible chance of employment. This system fell into disrepute, and not without reason. The society man, travelling with his card, was relieved at each lodge-house, or "station." Usually he had bed and breakfast, with perhaps a shilling or eighteenpence to help him on his way. In some societies the relief was paid by mileage. Not unfrequently the travelling member used his privilege by soliciting assistance from those in employment in all the towns he passed through. In later years the system has been abandoned in many of the Unions, in others it is restricted within very narrow limits. Some of the old trampers had a fairly good time of it; they found sustenance and shelter, and often a jolly set to mingle with at the club-house; but the wife and children at home fared not so well. These were often compelled to seek other relief not at all creditable to the breadwinner. The system was abused, but, in its early days, it had its uses, and probably it paved the way for a better and a healthier form of relief in connexion with Trade Unions.

Travelling relief is still the only form in which many Unions contribute to the support of members out of work.

Donation benefit, in connexion with Trade Unions,

commends itself under three aspects : (1) As it affects the recipients ; (2) in its economical aspects ; and (3) as it affects the community. In the first place, no one can for a moment doubt its enormous value to workmen engaged in occupations where employment is liable to fluctuations. In most cases, when work ceases, privation begins. The margin left after the expenses of the home are met is not great at the best, even in the better paid trades. And where employment is not constant all the year through, the struggle to make both ends meet is continuous. Secondly, it is important from an economical point of view. The provision relieves the labour market. The workman is no longer forced to accept any terms offered through the pressure of hunger. He can wait. He has helped to institute a fund for the purpose of enabling him to wait. This fund tends to, and really does, keep up wages. The competition of labour is lessened in proportion to the ability of workmen to refuse to work under the current rates. Strikes become less frequent in such cases, because the employers know that reductions can be, and will be resisted. Thirdly, the community is largely benefited. The members of the Unions providing such relief are kept from the parish. The rates are relieved to that extent. Such men keep their own poor, and contribute towards the relief of the less provident in all trades and occupations.

Twenty-seven per cent. of Union funds are expended

on out-of-work benefit, or about 9s. 7d. per member per annum.

The Insurance Act 1911 has affected certain Trade Unions even more largely with regard to unemployment or donation benefit than with regard to provision against sickness.

Compulsory unemployment insurance by master, man, and State is limited at present to certain seasonal trades—namely, the building, construction of works, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, ironfoundery, construction of vehicles and sawmilling trades. In these industries, on the application of a Trade Union concerned in them, the Board of Trade may make an arrangement that in lieu of paying unemployment benefit to the workmen direct, the Trade Union shall pay the unemployment benefit to their men as before, the Union subscriptions being decreed to be contributions under the Act, and the Board shall repay to the Trade Union a sum equal to the amount which they would have paid to the workmen, but not exceeding three-fourths of the amount actually paid by the Union in unemployment benefit. A further sixth of the sum actually paid to members out of employment may be repaid to them by the Board of Trade out of general taxation, as a recognition of the social value of their work in abating unemployment.

It has been stated that these provisions will greatly strengthen the force of Trade Unionism, but how far this will prove the case has still to be demonstrated.

The five benefits previously dealt with do not exhaust the list, though they constitute the principal ones in operation. Several of the Unions have what is termed a Benevolent Fund, out of which sums are from time to time granted towards the relief of distressed members, in cases of prolonged sickness, out of work through depression in trade, and other causes. These benevolent grants amount to a considerable sum. Other benefits are insurance for loss of tools, emigration benefit, and legal assistance.

GENERAL INSURANCE

A scheme of far-reaching importance, but of which few details are yet available, is now engaging the attention of the general federation of Trade Unions. A comprehensive scheme is likely to be adopted, upon a sound actuarial basis, which will not be limited to insuring infants or funeral business. The proposal received the endorsement of the Labour Party Conference in 1913.

There remain to be considered the militant benefit of Trade Unions, strike pay, to which subject, including the question of strikes and Trade Union methods generally, the next chapter will be devoted.

CHAPTER V

TRADE UNION METHODS AND GOVERNMENT

ATTENTION has been so far confined to the objects of Trade Unionism rather than to the means of achieving those objects. Certain activities, such as insurance against unemployment, serve the double purpose of assisting the member who is out of work and preventing his necessity from impairing the solidarity of his colleagues when they are on strike.

In this chapter the various methods of Trade Unionism will be considered solely from their aspect as means of achieving the Unions' objects.

The first and most normal means at the disposal of Trade Unions to realize their aims is that of mutual or collective bargaining.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

By making contracts in combination Trade Unionists have proved that they can get far more satisfactory terms from masters than when each man makes his own arrangements.

The scope of such contracts, the area which they cover, and the masters and men affected by them vary, of course, from trade to trade. In the cotton trade, for

example, a general scale of remuneration is fixed for the whole industry between the Operative Cotton Spinners' Trade Union and the Masters' Association —the famous "Brooklands" agreement being an example of such an arrangement. In such a considered agreement, on such a vast scale, allowances and local variations are all considered, so that all probable difficulties are provided for in advance and a possibility of dispute reduced to a minimum. Similar agreements are to be found among the boilermakers and engineers, but the practice is not universal, as it can only operate when there is a strong federated union of masters on one side and men on the other, and sometimes the nature of the trade forbids it.

A scheme to extend the practice by Act of Parliament by making arrangements come to by representatives of masters and men, on being registered by the Board of Trade, automatically binding on the whole industry was discussed at the Trade Union Congress of 1912 but rejected. At the Labour Party Conference of 1913 the proposal was raised, but relegated to a future Conference.

Where machinery does exist for collective bargaining the most usual method employed is that of a joint committee of representatives of masters and men present in equal numbers. Such a Board may be localized or apply to the whole trade, and provision is usually made to appeal to an umpire in case of failure of agreement. In the coal industry, for example, such

Conciliation Boards exist, but these must not be confused with the "minimum wage" boards set up by statute in 1912. Such statutory boards exist only in the coal trade and in certain "sweated" industries.

Salaried officers, sometimes selected by competitive examination, are often engaged by the Trade Unions to argue their case before the Board, and much care is taken that the umpire should be a person of eminence in whom mutual confidence is placed.

The Conciliation Boards of the railwaymen have been set up under the authority of the Board of Trade, and in their case the question of right of advocacy was for a long time in dispute. It was decided, however, after the great railway strike of 1911, that the men's representative at the Board need not necessarily be an employee of the railway company concerned in the conciliation.

Arbitration may be distinguished from conciliation in that in the former case the ultimate judgment lies with a third party who is not a party to the dispute. The award given is usually accepted, though, in this country, it carries no legal sanction. In the iron trade in particular this method of decision has found favour.

In many cases, however, neither conciliation nor arbitration can be applied. The employers refuse to recognize the Union at all, either on grounds of personal dignity or on the solider ground that the Union is not representative of the men and cannot enforce its agreements.

Every degree of bargaining, therefore, is to be found, from the sporadic arrangements of unrecognized Unions to the highly organized scales and agreements of the big federations. In some cases machinery is even provided for the settlement of agreements which are altogether new.

Proposals for compulsory arbitration by the State have not found favour with Trade Unions, and Congress has repeatedly rejected such suggestions decisively. The Conciliation Act of 1896 empowers the Board of Trade to inquire into the causes and circumstances of the difference in question. There is power to mediate and to appoint conciliators, but that is all.

In 1912 an industrial council, presided over by an official of the Board of Trade, was instituted by the Government, but at present it has limited its functions to making inquiries, and its real purpose is not very clear.

THE STRIKE

In the absence of satisfactory agreement by conciliation or arbitration, there remains the method of the strike—that is, the deliberate withholding of labour.

According to the Royal Commission on labour, 1894, the large Trade Unions have done much to diminish labour conflicts, but, however this may be, the strike still continues largely to be used as an ultimate means of decision in industrial disputes.

Broadly speaking, Trade Unions may be dis-

tinguished from Friendly Societies in their financial provision for trade disputes. In the case of many associations, those formerly described as the "new" Unions, there is, in fact, no friendly benefit provided at all, but all money is used for trade and kindred purposes.

The method of calling strikes varies very much, and depends upon the rules of each particular Union. In some cases the whole body of the members must sanction the stoppage of work, in others considerable power is left to a central executive to order a strike. In certain cases a recommendation of a central committee may require ratification, sometimes a Federal Council of the whole trade must be consulted.

The sympathetic strike, as it has been called, has recently grown in favour, and consists in the stoppage of the men of a particular Union, not because they have a dispute with their particular employers, but in order to assist the men in some other and usually related trade. Sympathy, however, more often takes the form of financial assistance to the other Union than of actual stoppage.

The extension of the sympathetic strike to all industries would result in the general strike, a policy advocated by the Syndicalists for the purpose of overthrowing the existing capitalistic system, and by the anti-militarists as a method to be employed internationally by workers for the purpose of paralysing an unjust war.

There is nothing necessarily illegal in a general strike, although if accompanied by deliberate destruction or sabotage, it rapidly becomes an unlawful conspiracy. Syndicalism, according to Mr Ramsay Macdonald, is negligible in England, and, such as it is, has arisen through a too strong reliance on political action as the sole method of Trade Unionism.

He points out that the fact that federated capital has widened the area of a great strike must not be mistaken for Syndicalism. "All that is happening in England," he asserts, "is that Trade Unionism as an active force is reviving, and that industrial action is being resorted to with, perhaps, the over enthusiasm which always follows upon a period of over neglect."[1]

Passing now to the question of strike pay and benefit, we have to note that in the case of nearly all Unions, the friendly and strike benefits are drawn from a common fund. The advocates for Trade Unions have always urged that the strength of the Unions largely depends upon their power, if so disposed, to employ the whole of their funds for trade ends.

The amount paid by various Unions in strike benefit varies very considerably, and in some cases the strain of paying protracted strike pay has brought the Union to destitution. It amounts to about 11 per cent. of the Trade Union funds; 4s. 10½d. per member. In 1911, 864 disputes took place, involving 931,000

[1] *Syndicalism*, p. 45 *et seq.* (Constable).

workers, or 10,247,100 working days. In 1912 the number of disputes was well over 700.

FEDERAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ACTION

Side by side with the work of Trade Unions in collective bargaining and striking is the more recent method of parliamentary action.

In considering the Trade Union movement it is essential to remember that the purposes of Trade Unions are continually changing. As we have seen, Trade Unions originally sprang into being for the purpose of enforcing the minimum wage conditions of the Statute of Apprentices—that is, of compelling Justices of the Peace to enforce minimum wages in different trades, a duty imposed upon them in the time of Elizabeth, which duty had ceased to be performed at the beginning of the industrial revolution. Having thus come into being for the purpose of enforcing legislation, they soon passed to themselves, endeavouring to enforce minimum wages in their trades by collective bargaining. It was early realized that the Statute of Apprentices was an obsolete weapon, and legal decisions which limited the duty of the Justices in enforcing wages to some few trades which had existed in the time of Elizabeth, soon convinced the leaders of the Trade Union movement that little was to be expected from the State in assisting them to secure decent conditions of life. Thus it was that the early Trade Union movement, after the abortive attempt to enforce the

Statute of Apprentices, received a distinctly anti-State bias.

In harmony with the general principles of the time, the Unionists were urged by their leaders to place reliance rather upon self-help than upon national legislation. Soon, however, the complicated nature of their work drove the lesser Unions to subordinate their independence, not to the State, but to those federations of Trade Unions which mark the middle period of Trade Union development. This period of federal activity is not yet concluded. Every day brings fresh proposals for the combination and co-ordination of Trade Union work. Continually more and more of the smaller Unions are absorbed into federations, sometimes to appear later as branches.

This tendency has, of course, been accelerated by the complementary tendency of the masters also to combine for trade-bargaining purposes. It will be remembered that the success of the method of collective bargaining depends on the men being able to withhold their labour at a time when the masters require it, and the pressure which can be put on the masters by this withholding of labour is very much accentuated if that labour can at the same time be given to other masters who are the competitors of those who are at war with the men.

The effect of federations of masters is, therefore, to weaken this weapon in the Trade Union armoury. No longer is it possible to the same extent as formerly to

use the competition of masters against masters to force any individual employer to yield. This tendency of masters to co-operate has, perhaps, more than anything else affected the policy of the Trade Union movement, and given rise to the new method of Trade Unions, a method which is only now in its infancy, that of parliamentary action.

Questions concerning the conditions of factory life—for example, the demand for healthy workplaces, safety in labour, and kindred requirements—can only be properly achieved by legislation, upon which, irrespective of particular political creeds, all Trade Unionists can agree.

In discussing the legislative question of the legitimate limits of Trade Union work, therefore, it is well to distinguish between legislation for immediate "Trade Union" objects, which the Trade Union would demand in any event, such as Factory and Mines Regulation Acts, and the more debatable class of legislation, such as the Right to Work Bill or the nationalization of monopolies, on which conceivably Trade Unionists may have very varying opinions.

For a considerable time, as we have already seen, the Trade Unions were without direct representation in Parliament, and it was therefore necessary to obtain the interest of some Member of Parliament who was not himself representative of the Trade Union, but who was sympathetic towards them.

The tendency, however, has been steadily to

extend the area of non-debatable matters—factory laws, workmen's compensation, limitation of laws of labour, unemployment, public health, housing, poor law, and even international policy are all matters which are rapidly coming within the scope of Trade Union interest.

The establishment of a Labour Party, very largely directly representative of Trade Union interests, with a small number of Socialists, has greatly accentuated this enlarged outlook. And now, as a matter of course, matters requiring legislation which are taken up by the Trade Unions are sent on to the Labour Party for promotion in Parliament. One instance will suffice. The miners having prepared a Bill for nationalizing their industry, and carried a vote in favour of their Bill at their annual conference, have sent the Bill forward to be ratified at the Labour Party Conference, and in due course the Bill will be presented by the Labour Party to Parliament. The effect of this activity of the Labour Party has been to deprive the Trade Union Congress of many of its parliamentary functions, but no final settlement of the respective powers of the two bodies has yet been arrived at.

The following are the most important parliamentary enactments passed in the interests of labour since 1906:—

1907. 7 Edw. VII. c. 46, "Employers Liability Insurance Companies Act."

1907. 7 Edw. VII. c. 10, "Employment of Women Act."
1907. 7 Edw. VII. c. 39, "Factory and Workshop Act."
1908. 8 Edw. VII. c. 57, "Coal Mines Regulation Act."
1908. 8 Edw. VII. c. 61, "Housing of Working Classes (Ireland) Act."
1908. 8 Edw. VII. c. 40, "Old Age Pensions Act."
1908. 8 Edw. VII. c. 42, "White Phosphorus Matches Prohibition Act."
1909. 9 Edw. VII. c. 74, "Housing, Town Planning Act."
1909. 9 Edw. VII. c. 21, "Irish Handloom Weavers Act."
1909. 9 Edw. VII. c. 7, "Labour Exchanges Act."
1909. 9 Edw. VII. c. 22, "Trade Boards Act."
1909. 9 Edw. VII. c. 16, "Workmen's Compensation (Anglo-French) Convention Act."
1910. 10 Edw. VII. and 1 Geo. V. c. 15, "Mines Accident (Rescue and Aid) Act."
1910. 10 Edw. VII. and 1 Geo. V. c. 13, "Police (Weekly Rest Day) Act."
1911. 1 and 2 Geo. V. c. 50, "Coal Mines Act."
1911. 1 and 2 Geo. V. c. 19, "Labourers (Ireland) Act."
1911. 1 and 2 Geo. V. c. 8, "Merchant Shipping (Seamen's Allotment) Act."
1911. 1 and 2 Geo. V. c. 55, "National Insurance Act."
1911. 1 and 2 Geo. V. c. 29, "Old Age Pensions Act."
1911. 1 and 2 Geo. V. c. 54, "Shops Act."

CONSTITUTION OF TRADE UNIONS

In their constitution and form of government, Trade Unions are essentially democratic—that is to say, no action can be taken, money spent, or officers appointed without the assent, given either directly or indirectly, of the members. The directness of the control of the members has varied from time to time, and is largely determined by the complexity of the work which the Trade Union has to do.

In the early days of Trade Unions, "representative" government was almost unknown, the whole membership of a branch or lodge acting as their own executive body, just as a parish meeting does to-day. Sometimes certain powers were vested in a president, who was either appointed annually or for a more limited period.

When, however, societies began to grow and possess several branches, the necessity for co-ordination made the simple method of direct self-government impossible. Gradually members of the local branches came to be chosen to represent a branch or a central body, and this central body began to employ skilled officials to do their business. In some cases this course produced a reaction and suspicion of the expert, resulting in the institution of referenda of the whole membership before any definite action was taken.

The delegate meeting, in which representatives had to vote according to definite instructions, was another method which grew up in consequence of tendencies to over-centralization.

The method of balloting all the members before an important decision is taken still finds favour, and is often used, particularly in cases of striking.

For ordinary government, however, an executive committee is now always elected, with officers and a general secretary and treasurer. Below the central council may be a district council, occupying a position midway between the local branch committee and the

central executive, comprising members from, perhaps, half-a-dozen branches.

FEDERATIONS

Over the central council may be a federal executive, such as that of the Miners' Federation, which controls the whole industry. A national federation conference, in such a case, is usually held, at least once a year, and forms a kind of legislature controlling the federation council.

A "federation" has been defined by the Board of Trade as an association of trade societies connected with some industry or several industries—the Miners' Federation being an example of the former, the General Federation of Trade Unions of the latter tendency. In addition, there are trades councils which are often concerned with political as well as direct industrial matters. When the Socialists are also affiliated, the body is generally reorganized as a local Labour Party or Trades and Labour Council. The following are the principal federations :—

General Federation of Trade Unions, W. A. Appleton, 8 Adelphi Terrace, Adam Street, W.C.

Union of Building Trades Federations of the U.K., E. Donohoe, 37 Ramsey Street, Moston, Manchester.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain, T. Ashton, J.P., 925 Ashton Old Road, Manchester.

Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades of the U.K., W. Mosses, Rutland Road, Eccles, Manchester.

N.E. Coast Fed. Societies of the Transport and Shipping Trade, P. Millen, 296 Simonside Terrace, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Nat. Transport Workers' Federation, B. Tillett, 425 Mile End Road, E.
General Labourers' National Council, J. N. Bell, 4 Higham Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Amal. Assoc. of Card and Blowing Room Operatives, W. Mullin, 2a Hodson's Court, Manchester.
Northern Counties Textile Trades Federation, T. Shaw, 122 Skipton Road, Colne.

The United Textile Factory Workers' Association of Lancashire is a political body of Trade Unions, which have federated themselves for the purpose of remedying grievances for which parliamentary or governmental interference is required. It consists of: 1. A representative assembly known as the General Council, made up of delegates from the various branches of the constituent Trade Unions. 2. A federal executive, known as the Legislative Council, composed of the salaried officials of the separate Unions. The Legislative Council makes a recommendation to the General Council, and the latter inaugurates a political campaign, or, more usually, sends on its proposal to the Labour Party, who thereupon take action in the House.

BRANCHES AND AMALGAMATIONS

A Trade Union usually works under rules and local by-laws—rules made by the whole Union at their conferences, and by-laws made under powers given by the rules to district or local branches.

In earlier times local Unions had more individual freedom than they now have as branches under amalgamation. But in every case the local members have an equal voice and vote. Usually the by-laws were simply lodge regulations, for the proper conduct of business. In a few instances the local branches, or lodges, maintained what was termed a "schedule" of local customs relating to wages, hours of labour, walking-time, and in one or two cases what was called "watering-time," that is, a brief respite for refreshment. By-laws still exist in most of the Unions (for example, every compositors' "chapel" has its own rules, even in cases where non-Unionists are employed). Thus, despite the apparent restriction in the liberty of individual branches, proposals for amalgamation continue to find favour. During 1912 twenty Unions in the building trade have given their provisional consent to amalgamation, as have the railway Unions, iron and steel workers, and tailoring societies.

At the present time, in the matter of government all questions are still usually decided by show of hands; all present, except honorary members, when such exist, being free to take part in the discussion, and eligible to vote. In recent years voting papers have been frequently used; and for all general purposes, where a vote of the members is taken throughout the whole of the branches of a large society, ballot papers are issued to all members. The question

of a strike has usually to be submitted to the whole of the members in most Unions. In certain cases, where the recognized rules of the society or the current rate of wages, or the normal working day, are interfered with by an employer, or firm, the branch has the right to resist; but even this action is often subject to the approval of the Executive, or Council. In all Trade Unions the power and authority are vested in the members; the governing body cannot act without their sanction, either as expressed in the certified rules, or as determined by a specific vote. In a properly constituted Trade Union there is no such thing as anarchy. The Unions recognize the fact that order is the law of progress, and they act upon the principle with conservative tenacity in all they do.

MANAGEMENT

The management of the Unions is vested in officers, and in a governing body, elected by the whole of the members. The chief officer, in nearly all cases, is the secretary, sometimes called "general secretary" in the amalgamated unions, or societies composed of branches, or divided into districts. He is elected annually by the members, by whom also his salary is fixed and voted. In some instances there are salaried presidents or treasurers. Other officers are trustees, in whom the property of the Union is vested, treasurer, and auditors.

The Executive Committee, or Council, of a Trade Union constitute the real governing body. They interpret the rules, just as a Court of Law interprets an Act of Parliament. The interpretation is usually open to appeal, either to what is termed a general council, a delegate meeting, or the whole body of the members. They conduct the business, direct the secretary, deal with all matters of finance, and see that the rules are properly carried out. The administrative functions of this body are multifarious, and often very extensive. In Unions like the Amalgamated Engineers, Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, and similar bodies, their authority extends not only over the whole of the United Kingdom, but to the United States, the colonies, and to foreign countries. The work is vast, often complicated, always onerous, generally laborious, but is usually done with regularity, efficiency, and promptitude.

In addition to the ordinary duties connected with an elaborate system of book-keeping, of a large mass of correspondence, of the most delicate disputes, relating as well to internal affairs as to matters of wages, hours of labour, and other matters with employers, many of the Unions issue monthly reports, some fortnightly returns. In these publications the state of trade is registered, disputes are commented upon, the income and expenditure are presented in abstract form ; anniversary meetings are reported, deaths and admissions are recorded, the voting of the members on

specific subjects is tabulated, and the general progress of the society is indicated. Each member, by the payment of a very trifling sum, is entitled to a copy of these reports, in which they can see what is being done, and learn something as to the prospects of the near future.

The annual reports of many of the Unions are often so complete that any member can almost test the accuracy of the financial statements for himself, without the aid of the auditor. In these annual reports the branch accounts are given with considerable fullness, as regards details, while the Executive, or Council's accounts are often most minute. The summaries or tables show the progress and work of the Unions, either from their establishment, or for a long series of years, and are most complete. All registered Unions must send in a yearly statement to the Registrar of Friendly Societies; but for the most part the *Annual Reports* of that department of the Government are very meagre, and they are issued so long after date as to become practically useless, except as a mere historical record. This fact explains why, at the end of 1912, it is impossible to give particulars of registered Trade Unions later than 31st December 1910.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The Trade Union Congress is generally to the whole Trade Union world what a federation is to Unions in a particular trade. Founded, as has been explained, in 1868, the parliamentary committee, which is in fact its executive, was first appointed in 1871. In 1873 standing orders were adopted which regularized its procedure, and until the introduction of the "New Union" question and the eight hours' movement in 1885, there was more or less complete harmony.

From that time onwards the scope of interest of the Congress steadily widened, many resolutions of a socialistic character being passed. Threats of secession and actual withdrawals of Unions have, from time to time taken place, but all serious differences have now been composed.

The constitution of the Congress is that of a body representing various Trade Unions, delegates having to be, or to have been, *bona fide* members of the trade they represent.

The parliamentary committee is composed of members of various trades, no trade being represented by more than one member. Its duties are :

1. To watch all legislation directly affecting labour.
2. To initiate such legislative action as the Congress may direct.
3. To prepare the programme of Congress.

The numerical strength of the Unions represented

at the Trade Union Congress at Newport in 1912 showed a large increase for the preceding twelve months, due in part to the impetus given to Trade Union organization by the strikes of 1911 and 1912. The members represented were 1,987,354, against 1,645,507 in 1911. The heaviest increases were in the following groups :—Dock labourers, etc., 56,763 ; Gasworkers, 70,434 ; Railwaymen, 47,363 ; Weavers, 59,237. The National Dock Labourers' Union doubled their membership ; the Sailors and Firemen trebled theirs, rising from 20,000 to 60,000 ; the National Union of Gas Workers rose from 32,000 to 71,000 ; and the National Amalgamated Labour Union increased from 22,000 to 47,000.

Since the formation of the Labour Party, the functions of the Party and Congress have tended to overlap, and many attempts have been made to amalgamate the two bodies, but so far without success.

The latest suggestion, that Congress should confine itself to purely industrial matters while the Labour Party deal with political, seems to offer the simplest solution of the difficulty.

REGISTRATION

A Trade Union desiring registration must have and register its rules, which rules must contain the following particulars :—

1. The name of the Trade Union and its place of meeting for the transaction of its business.

2. The whole of the objects for which the Trade Union is to be established; the purposes for which the funds thereof shall be applicable; the conditions under which any member may become entitled to any benefit assured thereby; and the fines and forfeitures which it resolves to impose on any of its members. The court, however, will not prevent a Trade Union carrying out one of its lawful objects, provided for in its rules, merely on the ground that the rules do not contain the machinery necessary for carrying out such object.

3. The manner of making, altering, amending, and rescinding rules. Where the rules contain a provision for alteration effectual when carried by a stipulated majority, every member is bound by alterations thus duly approved.

4. A provision for the appointment and removal of a general committee of management, of a trustee or trustees, treasurer, and other officers.

5. A provision for the investment of the funds, and for an annual or periodical audit of accounts.

6. A provision for the inspection of the books and names of members of the Trade Union by every person having an interest in the funds of the Trade Union. The members of the Trade Union are entitled to employ an accountant to inspect the books and accounts for them, provided that the accountant gives an undertaking that the information obtained will only be used for informing his clients of the result of the inspection.

7. A provision for dissolution (but a Trade Union registered before the 30th June 1876 does not have its rules invalidated by the absence of such a provision).

A registered Union also incurs certain duties with regard to the returning of reports, etc., to the registrar, etc.

LEGAL CONSTITUTION OF TRADE UNIONS

From a legal point of view, a Trade Union occupies an anomalous position. It is neither a corporation, nor an individual, nor a partnership between a number of individuals. No change was introduced into the constitution of Unions by the Act of 1871. They remain voluntary associations of which the law can take no special cognizance as collective bodies, . . . the object apparently being to make careful provision that they should not have any corporate existence or capacity whatever. Nevertheless, although the intention of the Act of 1871 was to avoid incorporation and the attendant consequences, the Legislature in giving a Trade Union the capacity to own property and the capacity to act by agents has, without incorporating it, given it some of the essential qualities of a corporation. Thus it can act by its agents, and is limited in its powers to such purposes as Parliament has expressly enabled it to undertake.

It is in consequence of this doctrine that the famous

"Taff Vale" and "Osborne" judgments were made, the former holding Unions liable for the wrongful acts of their agents, the latter declaring that it was not within the power of a Trade Union to return and pay members of Parliament.

Another legal peculiarity of Trade Unions is that although the execution of the purposes of Trade Unions involve extensive interference with the free disposal of labour and capital, which would make them liable at common law, "for he that hinders another in his trade or livelihood is liable to an action for so hindering him," immunities from liability for such interference have been conferred upon Trade Unions both by the Trade Union Act 1871 and the Trade Disputes Act 1906, which expressly saves Trade Unions from certain consequences which formerly attached to them, though such immunities, save that one which saves a Union being sued for injuries committed by the Union or its servants, are limited to interference in cases where a "trade dispute" is in contemplation or furtherance.

Yet another legal peculiarity of Trade Unions is that courts of law cannot entertain actions between members of a Trade Union, except in certain rare cases, when the Union is lawful apart from the Act of 1871. Thus, in the following matters the courts are powerless to intervene—namely, with regard to the direct enforcement of:

1. Any agreement between members of a Trade

Union as such, concerning the conditions on which any members for the time being of such Trade Union shall or shall not sell their goods, transact business, employ, or be employed.

2. Any agreement for the payment by any person of any subscription or penalty to a Trade Union.

3. Any agreement for the application of the funds of a Trade Union.

(*a*) To provide benefits to members ; or,

(*b*) To furnish contributions to any employer or workman not a member of such Trade Union, in consideration of such employer or workman acting in conformity with the rules or resolutions of such Trade Union ; or,

(*c*) To discharge any fine imposed upon any person by sentence of a court of justice.

4. Any agreement made between one Trade Union and another.

5. Any bond to secure the performance of any of the above-mentioned agreements.[1]

THE "OSBORNE" JUDGMENT

The legal difficulties as to the use of Trade Union funds for political purposes has been met by a measure of the Government, which enables Trade Unions who have passed a resolution approving political action, to make such an activity a lawful object of the Union.

[1] Vide *Legal Position of Trade Unions*, chaps. iii.-vi.

There is a duty placed upon the Union to notify the members that they may claim exemption from paying to the separate fund which has to be established for political purposes, but such notification need not be sent directly to every member of the Union.

In its original form this notification had to be sent to every member, but the Labour Party, in committee, succeeded in obtaining the present far more satisfactory method.

The notice having been given, a member may claim exemption by filling up a form which he can obtain from the registrar of friendly societies or the Trade Union office.

By the same measure all activities of Trade Unions which are otherwise lawful are legalized, and thus the right of Trade Unions to engage in any lawful activity they please is once more established.

In January 1913 a conference, called by the Joint Board, formally accepted the Government Bill by a large majority, though with a protest as to the retention of the individual member's right of exemption, and the Bill became law under the title of the Trade Union Act in February 1913.

The Legislature have thus formally recognized the propriety of that union of political and industrial action which is likely to have so great an effect on the working-class movement in the near future.

STATISTICAL APPENDICES

TRADE UNION STATISTICS

TRADE UNIONS AND GROUPS OF TRADES IN 1912[1]

Name	No. of Unions 1912	Membership 1912	Percentage Increase(+) or Decrease (−) in membership
Carpenters and Joiners	4	72,602	+ 11·0
Builders' Labourers	8	18,945	+ 55·1
Others	45	81,489	+ 2·8
Coal Mining—			
Northumberland, Durham and Cumberland	11	196,803	+ 7·6
Yorkshire	4	94,991	+ 4·5
Lancs. and Ches.	17	72,021	+ 21·7
Midlands	23	127,610	— 0·1
Wales and Monmouth	9	140,846	— 12·4
Scotland	11	92,040	+ 6·3
Other Mining	10	23,508	+ 7·9
Iron and Steel	15	60,327	+ 14·3
Ironfounding	10	38,984	+ 5·2
Engineering	81	198,722	+ 12·1
Shipbuilding	14	82,065	+ 10·0
Miscellaneous	85	33,985	+ 21·6
Cotton—Weavers	43	189,616	+ 27·2
,, Others	103	128,506	+ 2·4
Other Textiles	95	70,419	+ 5·4
Textile Printing, etc.	36	46,848	+ 23·6
Boot and Shoe	12	39,021	+ 12·3
Others	30	35,649	+ 10·4
Railway	8	185,379	+ 59·5
Tramway, etc.	16	84,089	+ 77·0
Seamen	14	88,575	+241·6
Canal, Dock Labour	26	156,784	+187·8
Printing, etc., Trades	38	77,161	+ 3·9
Woodworking, etc.	88	45,386	+ 17·0
Shop Assistants, etc.	4	58,375	+ 3·7
Other Trades	200	135,261	+ 25·9
General Labour	18	227,306	+ 91·4
Public Employees	80	107,033	+ 8·9
Totals	1,168	3,010,346	+ 23·3

[1] January 1st.

TRADE UNION STATISTICS

FINANCES OF THE LARGEST TRADE UNIONS

Name	Address of Secretary	Funds, Jan. 1910	Funds, Jan. 1911	Income, 1910	Members, 1910
BUILDING TRADES.		£	£	£	
Operative Bricklayers' Society	8 Southwark Bridge Rd., S.E.	78,940	73,172	47,841	23,284
Op. Stonemasons' Society	8 John St., Bedford Row, W.C.	7,054	5,220	10,775	7,055
Amal. Soc. of Carpenters and Joiners	5 Brunswick St., Manchester	87,398	111,396	224,859	55,785
MINING					
Northumberland Miners' Assn.	Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne	156,084	81,893	25,917	37,361
Durham Miners' Association	6 North Road, Durham	463,154	468,186	164,478	121,805
Yorkshire Miners' Association	2 Huddersfield Road, Barnsley	314,436	352,606	109,580	88,271
Lancs. and Ches. Miners' Fed.	325 Ashton Old Rd., Manchester	91,407	89,567	50,912	57,156
Derbyshire Miners' Association	47 Clarence Rd., Chesterfield	294,554	326,087	54,704	37,428
Nottinghamshire Miners' Assn.	Old Basford, Notts	214,700	190,655	39,187	31,252
South Wales Miners' Federation	Royal Chambers, Cardiff	226,077	150,230	64,841	137,553
METAL, ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING TRADES					
Friendly Soc. of Ironfounders	164 Chorlton Rd., Manchester	31,748	44,815	89,145	17,990
Amal. Society of Engineers	110 Peckham Road, S.E.	573,299	598,158	422,798	110,733

Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders . .	Lifton Ho., Newcastle-on-Tyne	123,042	98,037	212,806	49,393
Ship Constructive and Shipwrights	8 Eldon Sq., Newcastle-on-Tyne	88,563	79,099	57,687	21,631
TEXTILE TRADES					
Oldham Card, etc., Ops.,' Assn.	108 Union Street, Oldham .	76,457	80,576	31,221	18,101
Amal. Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, etc. .	3 Blossom Street, Great Ancoats Street, Manchester	419,167	397,099	120,473	54,475
Blackburn Weavers', etc.,'Assn.	1 Clayton Street, Blackburn	27,999	25,805	18,490	15,033
CLOTHING TRADES					
Boot and Shoe Operatives .	Trade Hall, St James' St., Leicester . . .	122,419	132,551	41,313	30,197
Amal. Society of Tailors .	415 Oxford Rd., Manchester	7,602	7,462	17,484	12,143
TRANSPORT (LAND AND WATER)					
Amal. Soc. of Railway Servants	Unity House, Euston Rd., N.W.	429,273	441,182	91,573	75,153
Dock, Wharf, etc., Workers' Union	425 Mile End Road, E. .	11,626	13,976	11,797	18,240
PRINTING TRADES					
London Soc. of Compositors	7 and 9 St Bride Street, E.C.	62,159	63,801	46,409	12,231
Typographical Association .	Caxton Hall, Salford . .	62,753	64,422	40,626	21,436
LABOURERS					
Gas Workers & Gen. Labourers	172 Pentonville Rd., N. .	3,806	2,704	20,665	32,040
Nat. Amal. Union of Labour .	4 Higham Pl., Newcastle-on-Tyne	3,328	2,819	12,743	46,107

BOARD OF TRADE TABLES

OF 100 PRINCIPAL TRADE UNIONS (JANUARY 1, 1912)

The Tables below deal with the membership, income, expenditure and funds of 100 of the principal Trade Unions only. These 100 Unions, with an average membership of about 18,000, accounted for 60 per cent. of the total membership of all Unions, the remaining 40 per cent. being distributed among 1072 Unions, with an average membership of a little over 1000.

The following Table summarises the membership, income, expenditure, and accumulated funds of the 100 principal Unions for each of the years 1902-1911 :—

Year	Membership at End of Year	Income		Expenditure		Funds at End of Year	
		Amount	Per Member	Amount	Per Member	Amount	Per Member
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1902 .	1,217,349	2,090,871	34 4¼	1,804,573	29 7¾	4,424,562	72 8¼
1903 .	1,206,378	2,105,404	34 10¾	1,921,075	31 10¼	4,608,891	76 5
1904 .	1,202,284	2,119,029	35 3	2,051,290	34 1½	4,676,630	77 9½
1905 .	1,219,880	2,222,569	36 5¼	2,075,371	34 0¼	4,823,828	79 1
1906 .	1,305,814	2,356,783	36 1¼	1,968,859	30 1¾	5,211,752	79 10
1907 .	1,468,829	2,509,259	34 2	2,065,989	28 1½	5,655,022	77 0
1908 .	1,448,829	2,758,050	38 0¾	3,223,733	44 6	5,189,339	71 7½
1909 .	1,434,359	2,575,715	35 11	2,698,137	37 7½	5,066,917	70 7¾
1910 .	1,469,320	2,704,166	36 9¾	2,634,930	35 10½	5,136,153	69 11
1911 .	1,816,506	2,936,754	32 4	2,502,217	27 6½	5,570,690	61 4

Owing largely to the general increase in membership which occurred in 1911 the total income for that year was the highest recorded. From the same cause, however, the amount of income per member, as well as the amounts per member of expenditure and of accumulated funds, was lower than in any other of the ten years 1902-1911. The total amount of funds showed a large increase compared with 1910, and, with the exception of 1907, was the highest on record.

During the ten years 1902-1911 £22,946,000 was spent by the 100 principal Unions. Of this amount £2,455,000 (or 10·7 per cent. of the total) was spent in dispute pay, £6,140,000 (or 26·8 per cent.) in unemployed benefit, and £9,543,000 (or 41·6 per cent.) on sick and accident, superannuation, and other benefits and grants, while the remaining £4,808,000 (or 20·9 per cent.) was absorbed by working expenses and miscellaneous expenditure.

[TABLE

The following Table gives an analysis of the expenditure for each of the years 1902-1911:—

Year	Dispute Benefit		Unemployed Benefit		Other Benefits and Grants		Working and Miscellaneous Expenses	
	Amount	Percentage of Total Expenditure	Amount	Percentage of Total Expenditure	Amount	Percentage of Total Expenditure	Amount	Percentage of Total Expenditure
	£		£		£		£	
1902 .	220,774	12·2	431,006	23·9	748,468	41·5	404,325	22·4
1903 .	176,389	9·2	514,580	26·8	791,219	41·2	438,887	22·8
1904 .	118,670	5·8	656,675	32·0	850,672	41·5	425,273	20·7
1905 .	214,910	10·4	526,213	25·3	902,722	43·5	431,526	20·8
1906 .	153,726	7·8	426,961	21·7	924,322	46·9	463,850	23·6
1907 .	137,513	6·7	465,338	22·5	978,303	47·3	484,835	23·5
1908 .	606,171	18·8	1,019,541	31·6	1,065,199	33·1	532,822	16·5
1909 .	156,201	5·8	947,264	35·1	1,066,683	39·5	527,989	19·6
1910 .	352,389	13·4	698,918	26·5	1,061,070	40·3	522,553	19·8
1911 .	318,601	12·7	453,183	18·1	1,154,594	46·2	575,839	23·0
Average for 10 years	245,534	10·7	613,968	26·8	954,325	41·6	480,790	20·9

Exceptionally large amounts of dispute benefit were paid in 1911 by Unions in the printing, transport, and textile trades (£94,000, £66,000, and £55,000 respectively), while, on the other hand, there was a considerable reduction in the expenditure under this heading by Unions in the metal, engineering, and shipbuilding trades, where the cost of this benefit was £39,000, as against £131,000 in 1910, and by Unions in the mining and quarrying industry, which expended £38,000 in 1911, compared with £161,000 in 1910. It should be mentioned, however, that the South Wales Miners' Federation, of which full information relating to the income and expenditure is not available, and which therefore—although one of the largest Trade Unions—cannot be included in the selected 100 Unions, paid more than £200,000 in dispute benefit in 1911, as compared with £90,000 in 1910. The expenditure per member of the 100 Unions on this benefit was 3s. 6d., as compared with 4s. 9½d. in 1910.

The proportion of the total expenditure accounted for by unemployed benefit (18·1 per cent.) was less than in any year since 1900 (when it was also 18·1 per cent.). In the metal, engineering, and shipbuilding, and in the building groups, the expenditure in 1911 was £116,000 and £74,000 respectively, as compared with £214,000 and £114,000 in 1910 and £494,000 and £164,000 in 1908; in the textile group the expenditure in 1911 was £71,000, a decrease of £100,000 compared with 1910, and of £98,000 com-

pared with 1908. The remaining groups of trades showed a combined expenditure on this benefit of about £200,000 in each of the three years named. The expenditure per member of the 100 Unions on this benefit in 1911 was 5s., as compared with 9s. 6¼d. in 1910.

In 1911 the expenditure per member of the 100 Unions on sick and accident benefits was 4s. 9½d. (a decrease of 10¾d. compared with the previous year); on superannuation benefit it was 4s. 6½d. (a decrease of 11¼d.); on funeral benefit 1s. 2¾d. (a decrease of 2¼d.); on other benefits and grants to members 4¾d. (a decrease of 1½d.), and on payments to federations and other societies 1s. 9d. (an increase of 5d.). Combining all these items, the expenditure per member was 12s. 8½d. in 1911, as compared with 14s. 5¼d. in 1910. As already explained, the decrease per member is largely due to the abnormal increase in membership during the year.

Registrar of Friendly Societies' Returns of all Registered Unions (End of 1910)

At the close of the year 1910 there were 669 registered Trade Unions; of these, 638 furnished returns to the registrar. The total membership for Great Britain and Ireland of the 638 Unions was 2,017,656; their income amounted to £3,187,415; and their expenditure to £3,137,085; while the balance of funds at end of year amounted to £5,925,358.

The figures for 1910, compared with those for the previous year, show an increase in membership of 59,752, or 3·052 per cent., an increase in income of £144,994; the balance of funds at the close of the year amounting to nearly £6,000,000 sterling.

The average gross income per member of registered Unions was £1, 11s. 7d., and the amount of funds per member, £2, 18s. 9d.

	1909	1910	1911
Number of Returns	638	638	—
Number of Members	1,957,904	2,017,656	3,010346
Total income	£3,042,421	£3,187,415	(including
Total expenditure	£3,158,698	£3,137,085	unregistered
Balance of funds	£5,886,272	£5,925,358(1)	Unions)

The progress during the three decades ending 31st December 1910 is shown in the following Table:—

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Number of Returns	156	235	661	638
Number of Members	211,091	645,451	1,572,861	2,017,656
Total income	£240,448	£990,872	£2,256,291	£3,187,415
Total expenditure	—(2)	—(2)	£1,646,995	£3,137,085
Balance of funds	£284,962	£1,102,147	£4,137,660	£5,925,358

(1) In comparing the balance of funds with that of the previous year, allowance should be made in respect of the funds of Trade Unions which have since been registered or dissolved.

(2) Particulars for these years are not available.

SCOTLAND

County	Total Number of Trade Unions	Number of Trade Unions making Returns	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
			£	£	£	£	
Aberdeen . .	4	4	11,485	12,032	3,018	2,471	2,673
Edinburgh . .	3	3	5,320	5,216	4,504	4,608	2,278
Fife . .	1	1	1,398	1,375	439	462	380
Lanark . .	20	20	128,456	136,804	82,530	74,182	43,571
Renfrew . .	4	4	537	735	667	469	666
Roxburgh . .	1	1	463	604	222	81	500
Stirling . .	3	3	32,549	34,723	9,314	7,140	5,980
Total. .	36	36	180,208	191,489	100,694	89,413	56,048

IRELAND

County	Total Number of Trade Unions	Number of Trade Unions making Returns	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
			£	£	£	£	
Antrim . .	21	17	15,573	17,242	8,113	6,444	6,996
Armagh . .	3	3	1,068	1,506	727	289	2,369
Cork . . .	2	2	107	81	1,217	1,243	311
Down . . .	1	1	28	44	34	18	184
Dublin . .	32	22	3,010	5,195	11,132	8,947	9,639
Kilkenny . .	4	2	342	427	146	61	284
Londonderry .	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Louth . . .	3	1	52	4	138	139	27
Waterford . .	1	1	74	74	30	30	23
Total . .	69	49	20,207	24,573	21,537	17,171	19,833

The figures in all cases are for 1910, the last available.

The following summary shows the number of registered Trade Unions in the United Kingdom, together with their Funds and Membership:—

ENGLAND AND WALES

County	Total Number of Trade Unions	Number of Trade Unions making Returns	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
ENGLAND—			£	£	£	£	
Chester	15	15	33,394	34,551	7,767	6,610	8,287
Cumberland	7	7	5,709	5,509	13,573	13,773	21,826
Derbyshire	9	9	313,508	343,284	54,052	24,276	42,892
Devonshire	3	3	1,836	1,943	669	562	588
Durham	18	16	552,382	548,201	200,949	205,130	151,131
Essex	4	4	2,412	2,857	3,163	2,718	6,005
Gloucestershire	5	5	6,616	6,835	2,129	1,910	2,133
Hampshire	5	5	1,784	1,769	570	585	667
Kent	2	2	1,226	1,335	417	308	764
Lancashire	151	147	1,239,065	1,296,890	951,857	894,032	473,232
Leicestershire	5	5	148,123	161,081	50,446	37,488	38,581
Lincolnshire	4	4	5,997	6,595	1,936	1,338	1,673
London	146	142	1,481,630	1,559,431	954,545	876,744	489,430
Middlesex	3	3	178	176	384	386	873
Monmouthshire	3	3	226,159	150,238	65,071	140,992	137,889
Norfolk	3	3	2,218	1,645	1,577	2,150	5,185
Northamptonshire	2	2	58	74	63	47	53

Northumberland	19	19	395,822	282,652	324,265	437,435	133,320
Nottinghamshire	18	18	264,030	239,392	50,391	75,029	37,229
Oxfordshire	2	2	473	483	98	88	92
Shropshire	2	2	1,556	1,577	721	700	632
Somersetshire	5	5	105,332	113,555	69,742	61,519	58,427
Staffordshire	25	25	91,343	93,028	27,178	25,493	31,969
Suffolk	1	1	328	338	66	56	88
Surrey	1	1	113	113	150	150	77
Sussex	1	1	1,077	1,073	243	247	278
Warwickshire	24	24	82,794	85,436	50,911	48,269	38,220
Worcestershire	8	8	18,589	18,813	2,821	2,597	3,325
Yorkshire	55	54	644,805	707,601	203,524	140,728	215,231
Total ENGLAND	546	535	5,628,557	5,666,475	3,039,278	3,001,360	1,900,097
WALES—							
Carnarvonshire	1	1	3,780	4,710	1,601	671	2,907
Denbighshire	4	4	10,335	9,074	7,749	9,010	12,552
Glamorganshire	13	13	31,941	29,037	16,556	19,460	26,219
Total WALES	18	18	46,056	42,821	25,906	29,141	41,678
Total ENGLAND AND WALES	564	(1)553	5,674,613	5,709,296	3,065,184	3,030,501	1,941,775

(1) Of the 11 Trade Unions shown above as not furnishing returns, 6 have, since the close of the year, given notice of dissolution, 4 have had their registry cancelled, and the remaining Trade Union has amalgamated with another.

Particulars of registered Trade Unions in 1911 in England and Wales having more than 1000 members each.

Name and Registered Office	Year of Establishment	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
ENGLAND						
CHESHIRE—		£	£	£	£	
Winsford Salt Makers' Association, Brunner Guildhall, Over, Winsford, Cheshire	1846	6,491	6,792	1,081	780	1,458
Federation of Salt Workers, Alkali Workers, Mechanics, and General Labourers, Brunner Guildhall, High Street, Winsford, Cheshire	1890	3,670	3,937	400	133	1,451
Upper Mersey Watermen and Porters' Association, Union Buildings, 87 High Street, Runcorn	1889	2,794	3,000	976	770	1,200
Amalgamated Society of Paper Makers, 7 Station Road, Woodley, Stockport	1894	7,940	8,388	1,810	1,362	1,194
CUMBERLAND—						
Cumberland Miners' Association, 77 Senhouse Street, Maryport	1872	2,766	1,747	7,639	8,658	6,326
Cumberland Iron Ore Miners' and Kindred Trades Association, Alva House, Moor Row, Cumberland	1888	202	608	2,017	1,611	2,728

Cumberland and Lancashire District of the National Federation of Blastfurnacemen, 18 Exchange Buildings, Moss Bay, Workington	1880	1,570	1,998	2,041	1,613	2,361
National Federation of Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, and Kindred Trades, 18 Exchange Buildings, Moss Bay, Workington	1892	501	214	1,017	1,304	9,400
DERBYSHIRE—						
South Derbyshire Amalgamated Miners' Association, Myrtle Villa, Court Street, Woodville, Burton-on-Trent	1888	15,004	14,317	4,692	5,379	3,622
Derbyshire Miners' Association, Miners' Office, Saltergate, Chesterfield	1880	294,554	324,740	47,920	17,734	37,428
Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Enginemen and Firemen's Trade Union, Thanet Cottage, Thanet Street, Clay Cross, Chesterfield	1892	3,099	3,304	1,034	829	1,430
DURHAM—						
Durham County Colliery Enginemen's and Boiler Minders' Mutual Aid Association, 26 Westernhill, Framwellgate, Durham	1871	18,931	19,782	4,394	3,543	2,972
Durham Miners' Association, 16 North Road, Durham	1869	463,154	468,186	165,089	160,057	121,805
Durham Coke Men's and Bye-product Workers' Association, 12 The Avenue, Durham	1874	8,363	8,679	3,406	3,090	4,072
North of England Trimmers' and Teemers' Association, 3 Revesby Street, Stanhope Road, Tyne Dock, South Shields	1871	3,285	2,436	1,618	2,467	1,684

Name and Registered Office	Year of Establishment	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
		£	£	£	£	
DURHAM—*continued*						
Durham Deputy Overmen's Mutual Aid Association, Shakespeare Hall, North Road, Durham	1875	7,746	7,349	3,197	3,594	1,933
Durham Colliery Mechanics' Association, The Avenue, Durham	1879	17,259	16,184	4,768	5,843	4,645
Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain, 6 Mount Pleasant, Darlington	1887	22,642	14,000	10,966	19,608	6,838
National Steel Workers' Association, Engineering and Labour League, Horwell House, Harrowgate, Darlington	1888	747	1,181	1,819	1,385	1,569
National Amalgamated Society of Enginemen, Cranemen, Boilermen, Firemen, and Electrical Workers, 18 Parliament Street, Stockton-on-Tees	1884	5,040	5,104	2,955	2,891	3,785
ESSEX—						
London Postal Porters' Association, 5 Forest Road, Walthamstow, N.E.	1902	202	257	270	215	1,120
National Union of Corporation Workers, 138 First Avenue, Manor Park, E.	1907	510	598	1,443	1,355	3,542
GLOUCESTERSHIRE—						
Bristol Miners' Association, 59 Clouds Hill Road, St George's, Bristol	1887	5,305	5,486	1,869	1,688	1,979

LANCASHIRE—						
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, 95 Brunswick Street, Ardwick Green, Manchester	1860	80,337	104,471	224,858	200,724	55,785
Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses, 415 Oxford Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester	1866	7,602	7,462	17,483	17,623	12,143
Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, Self-actor Minders, and Twiners of Lancashire and adjoining Counties, 3 Blossom Street, Great Ancoats Street, Manchester	1869	419,167	397,099	120,473	142,541	22,992
Steam-Engine Makers' Society, Market Buildings, 17 Thomas Street, Manchester	1824	80,840	88,998	40,307	32,149	13,401
Amalgamated Society of Wood Cutting Machinists of Great Britain and Ireland, 33 Plymouth Avenue, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester	1866	7,060	8,939	10,941	9,062	4,079
Iron and Steel Dressers' Trade Society, Millstone Hotel, Thomas Street, Manchester	1860	5,980	6,160	3,696	3,516	1,400
General Union of Braziers and Sheet Metal Workers, 16 Downing Road, Bootle, Liverpool	1861	2,099	2,409	6,183	5,873	1,736
Rochdale Male and Female Card and Blowing Room and Ring Spinners' Association, 5 Baillie Street, Rochdale	1881	7,044	6,735	6,494	6,803	4,835
United Pointsmen's and Signalmen's Society, 267 Ainsworth Lane, Bolton	1880	7,003	7,985	3,071	2,089	3,790
Friendly Society of Ironfounders of England, Ireland, and Wales, 164 Chorlton Road, Brooks Bar, Manchester	1809	31,748	44,815	90,452	77,385	17,990

Name and Registered Office	Year of Establishment	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
LANCASHIRE—*continued*		£	£	£	£	
Amalgamated Union of Cabinet Makers, 43 Empress Road, Kensington, Liverpool	1833	5,813	6,733	8,198	7,278	2,587
Blackburn Weavers' Protection Society, 1 and 3 Princes Street, Blackburn	1885	3,102	3,378	3,291	3,015	2,918
National Union of Life Assurance Agents, 132 Great Ancoats Street, Manchester	1884	859	745	1,712	1,826	2,941
Nelson and District Association of Warp Dressers, 2A New Brown Street, Nelson	1886	8,542	9,702	2,048	888	1,384
National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators, 4 Camp Street, Lower Broughton, Manchester	1886	30,529	29,612	50,955	51,872	14,909
Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers, and Process Workers, 20 Cooper Street, Manchester	1885	9,397	10,706	3,431	2,122	1,760
Oldham Provincial Card and Blowing Room and Ring Frame Operatives' Association, 108 Union Street, Oldham	1885	76,457	80,576	31,279	27,160	18,101
Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers of Great Britain and Ireland, Campfield Chambers, 312 Deansgate, Manchester	1880	16,141	17,440	10,927	9,628	4,675

Kearsley, Clifton, Pendlebury, and Pendleton Miners' Association and Checkweigh Fund, Good Intent Lodge, Pendlebury, Town Hall, Pendlebury, Manchester	1887	1,140	733	14,328	14,735	4,881
Burnley Miners' Association, Prosperity Lodge, Burnley, Weavers' Institute, Charlotte Street, Burnley	1888	264	177	3,409	3,496	1,513
United Kingdom Society of Amalgamated Smiths and Strikers, 21 Manor Street, Ardwick, Manchester	1886	(1)3,897	2,689	5,692	6,900	2,731
Amalgamated Association of Tramway and Vehicle Workers, 5 Leaf Square, Pendleton, Manchester	1889	33,979	38,302	22,903	18,580	17,076
Mersey Quay and Railway Carters' Union, 398 Scotland Road, Liverpool	1889	11,580	11,848	4,262	3,994	5,083
General Railway Workers' Union, 27 Green Street, Ardwick Green, Manchester	1889	5,955	6,860	5,903	4,998	7,284
Electrical Trades Union, 26 Cannon Street, Manchester	1889	1,324	1,966	3,402	2,760	1,871
South-East Lancashire Provincial Card and Blowing Room Operatives' Association, 28 Delamere Street, Ashton-under-Lyne	1886	23,794	20,400	8,319	11,713	5,546
United Carters' Association of England, 48 Robert Street, Upper Brook Street, Manchester	1890	4,119	4,894	3,348	2,573	2,839
Amalgamated Carters, Lorrymen, and Motor Men's Union, 77 St George's Road, Bolton	1890	8,812	8,865	5,649	5,596	3,995
National Union of Dock Labourers in Great Britain and Ireland, 46 Hanover Street, Liverpool	1889	10,428	11,258	8,025	7,195	14,253

(1) This is a corrected balance.

Name and Registered Office	Year of Establishment	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
LANCASHIRE—*continued*		£	£	£	£	
Amalgamated Society of Farriers, 70 St James' Rd., Higher Broughton, Manchester	1805	2,398	2,548	2,587	2,437	1,840
United Pattern Makers' Association, Northdene, Rutland Rd., Ellesmere Park, Eccles	1872	34,777	40,872	25,347	19,252	7,214
United Machine Workers' Association, 48 Plymouth Grove, Charlton-on-Medlock, Manchester	1844	1,089	3,873	13,434	10,650	4,886
Amalgamated Union of Engravers to Calico Printers and Paper Stainers, Caxton Hall, Chapel Street, Salford, Manchester	1889	10,260	11,441	2,878	1,697	1,650
Amalgamated Musicians' Union, 135 Moss Lane, East, Moss Side, Manchester	1893	30	547	4,844	4,327	6,182
General Union of Lancashire and Yorkshire Warp Dressers' Associations, 2A New Brown Street, Nelson	1894	11	26	75	60	2,986
Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees, Co-operative News Buildings, Long Millgate, Manchester	1891	35,742	41,456	24,540	18,826	29,886
United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers, 118 Portland Street, Manchester	1834	20,518	23,130	21,542	18,930	7,158
Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing Room Operatives, 2A Hodson's Chambers, Hodson's Court, Corporation Street, Manchester	1886	38,047	37,388	16,495	17,154	44,730

Amalgamated Society of Wheelwrights, Smiths, and Motor Body Makers, 11 Tempest Street, Ardwick, Manchester	1830	9,843	10,289	4,188	3,742	1,765
Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation, 925 Ashton Old Road, Manchester	1881	91,407	89,567	50,912	52,752	60,461
Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales Enginemen's and Boilermen's Federation, 5 Church Street, Golborne, Newton-le-Willows	1900	493	886	1,265	872	1,507
Northern Counties Hairdressers' Federation, 8 Rylands Street, Warrington	1893	564	727	417	254	1,486
Amalgamated Society of Core Makers of Great Britain and Ireland, Old Ship Hotel, Chapel Street, Salford, Manchester	1860	4,415	5,148	4,288	3,555	1,373
United Journeymen Brassfounders, Turners, Fitters, Finishers, and Coppersmiths' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, Bank Chambers, 2 Moss Street, Liverpool	1866	5,677	3,706	2,253	4,224	5,090
Manchester and Salford District Building Industries Federation, 37 Ramsey Street, Moston, Manchester	1891	72	11	39	100	2,389
Tyldesley and Astley Miners' Association, Miners' Hall, 180 Elliott Street, Tyldesley, Manchester	1893	4,882	4,881	3,967	3,968	3,241
National Union of Journalists, 32 Victoria Street, Manchester	1907	2,054	3,272	2,538	1,320	1,922
National Union of Ships' Stewards, Cooks, Butchers, and Bakers, 6 Spekeland Buildings, 22 Canning Place, Liverpool	1909	362	757	1,227	832	3,624

Name and Registered Office	Year of Establishment	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
		£	£	£	£	
LEICESTERSHIRE—						
Leicester and Leicestershire Amalgamated Hosiery Union, Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street, Leicester	1885	2,187	2,387	1,269	1,069	1,340
National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, Boot and Shoe Trade Hall, St James Street, Leicester	1874	122,419	132,551	41,675	31,543	30,197
Leicestershire Miners' Association, Station Chambers, Coalville, Leicester	1887	21,828	24,383	6,460	3,905	5,491
National Union of Quarrymen, 133 Harrow Road, Narborough Road, Leicester	1887	619	843	653	429	1,225
LINCOLNSHIRE—						
Grimsby Steam Fishing Vessels Engineers and Firemen's Union, 8 Riby Square, Grimsby	1896	3,344	3,736	1,366	974	1,021
LONDON—						
Operative Bricklayers' Society, 58 Southwark Bridge Road, S.E.	1848	69,884	63,139	47,753	54,498	23,284
Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, Unity House, Euston Road, N.W.	1871	429,273	441,182	91,573	79,664	75,153
General Labourers' Amalgamated Union, 45 Aybrook Street, Manchester Square, W.	1872	918	179	1,188	1,927	1,440

National Association of Operative Plasterers, 37 Albert Street, Camden Town, N.W.	1860	21,524	22,258	10,581	9,847	6,522
General Union of Operative Carpenters and Joiners, 65 Kennington Oval, S.E.	1827	6,645	7,569	12,781	11,857	5,653
United Order of General Labourers of London, 72 Webber Row, Westminster Bridge Road, S.E.	1878	3,189	2,742	1,100	1,547	1,332
London Society of Compositors, 7 and 9 St Bride Street, Fleet Street, E.C.	1785	62,159	63,801	46,441	44,799	12,231
Amalgamated Society of Watermen, Lightermen, and Watchmen of the River Thames, 29 Trinity Square, Tower Hill, E.C.	1872	6,061	6,768	3,600	2,893	2,324
Amalgamated Society of Boot and Shoe Makers, 7 Burton Crescent, W.C.	1862	1,082	979	890	993	1,521
National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, 72 Finsbury Pavement, E.C.	1865	5,791	7,083	17,426	16,134	6,685
United Operative Plumbers' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, 181 Clapham Road, Stockwell, S.W.	1865	18,817	19,670	33,143	32,290	10,907
Amalgamated Society of Engineers, 110 Peckham Road, Peckham, S.E.	1851	573,299	618,158	442,798	397,939	110,733
Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 425 Mile End Road, E.	1887	11,626	13,976	11,797	9,447	18,240
Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society, Printers' Hall, 45 Blackfriars Road, S.E.	1839	12,874	14,076	8,748	7,546	2,704
London Carmen's Trade Union, 54 Minories, E.	1888	3,566	3,238	4,150	4,478	5,690
London District of the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners, 78 Harwood Road, Fulham, S.W	1861	673	840	2,430	2,263	1,590

Name and Registered Office	Year of Establishment	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
LONDON—*continued*		£	£	£	£	
Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners of Great Britain and Ireland, 16 Paddenswick Road, Hammersmith, W.	1861	5,478	5,831	3,060	2,707	6,520
National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland, 172 Pentonville Road, N.	1889	3,806	2,704	20,664	21,766	32,040
National Amalgamated Coal Porters' Union of Inland and Sea-borne Coal Workers, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.	1887	115 (Deficiency)	9 (Deficiency)	399	293	1,535
National Society of Operative Printers' Assistants, Caxton House, 26 Blackfriars Road, S.E.	1889	3,056	5,408	6,946	4,594	4,742
United Builders' Labourers' Union, 195 Blackfriars Road, S.E.	1889	2,613	1,545	1,774	2,842	1,905
Labour Protection League, 96 and 98 Neptune Street, Rotherhithe, S.E.	1889	29	24	219	224	2,500
Navvies', Builders', Labourers', and General Labourers' Union, 12G Elmsleigh Road, Wandsworth, S.W.	1889	270	309	1,344	1,305	2,491
National Amalgamated Society of Printers' Warehousemen and Cutters, 53 Fetter Lane, Holborn, E.C.	1840	1,843	3,074	6,258	5,027	5,127

National Association of Master Bakers and Confectioners, 31-33 Palmerston House, Old Broad Street, E.C.	1887	7,452	7,568	8,010	7,894	4,728
National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks, 122 Gower Street, Bedford Square, W.C.	1891	27,576	32,915	30,976	25,637	21,426
Federated Society of Electrotypers and Stereotypers of Great Britain and Ireland, 46 Wood Vale, Lordship Lane, East Dulwich, S.E.	1893	1,685	1,945	935	675	1,109
National Union of Clerks, 110 Cheapside, E.C.	1890	1,445	2,191	2,548	1,802	2,844
London Cabdrivers' Trade Union, 39 Gerrard Street, Soho, W.	1894	410	786	2,086	1,710	3,309
Municipal Employees' Association, 22 Red Lion Square, W.C.	1894	3,068	3,519	8,938	8,487	13,497
Fawcett Association, 55 Doughty Street, W.C.	1890	1,655	1,671	2,904	2,888	5,090
Amalgamated Stevedores' Labour Protection League, Maritime Hall, West India Dock Road, E.	1870	8,997	9,982	3,046	2,061	4,225
British Steel Smelters, Mill Iron and Tinplate Workers, Ormond Mansions, Great Ormond Street, Holborn, W.C.	1886	57,750	74,765	31,836	32,821	17,491
Workers' Union, 16 Agincourt Road, Hampstead, N.W.	1898	1,021	1,926	4,200	3,295	5,103
National Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers, 41 Clapham Road, S.W.	1876	3,161	3,450	1,381	1,092	6,047
National League of the Blind of Great Britain and Ireland, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.	1899	537	575	2,060	2,022	1,229

Name and Registered Office	Year of Establishment	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
LONDON—*continued*		£	£	£	£	
Railway Clerks' Association, 337 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.	1897	2,593	3,486	5,150	4,257	9,476
National Association of Grocers' Assistants, 24 Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.	1897	2,848	2,923	1,422	1,347	1,299
London Society of Sheet Metal Workers, Braziers and Gas Meter Makers, 53 Fetter Lane, Holborn, E.C.	1829	3,465	3,849	3,839	3,455	1,533
Newsagents', Booksellers', and Stationers' National Union, 2 Exeter Street, Strand, W.C.	1902	45	46	57	56	1,102
London Society of Tailors and Tailoresses, 16 Heddon Street, Regent Street, W.	1905	1,003	1,191	1,078	890	1,304
Variety Artistes' Federation, 18 Charing Cross Road, W.C.	1906	1,952	2,916	4,340	3,376	2,625
National Federation of Women Workers, 34 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.	1906	601	820	2,779	2,560	6,005
United Society of Brushmakers, "Crown Tavern," Clerkenwell Green, E.C.	1747	721	234	6,620	7,107	1,193
Amalgamated Society of Telephone Employees, 15 Great James Street, Theobalds Road, W.C.	1905	969	1,843	3,724	2,850	6,469
Society of Operative Stonemasons, 28 John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.	1833	7,054	5,220	10,770	12,604	7,496

MONMOUTHSHIRE—						
South Wales Miners' Federation, Ty Cendl, Beaufort	1898	226,077	150,230	64,842	140,689	137,553
NORFOLK—						
Eastern Counties Agricultural Labourers' and Small Holders' Union, Wensum House, Hempton Fakenham	1906	1,497	897	1,515	2,115	5,104
NORTHUMBERLAND—						
United Society of Boiler Makers and Iron and Steel Ship Builders, Lifton House, Eslington Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1834	123,042	98,037	212,806	237,811	49,393
Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association, Burt Memorial Hall, College Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1863	156,084	81,893	26,197	100,388	37,361
Northumberland Colliery Mechanics' Mutual Protection Association, 34 Falconer Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1875	5,143	3,876	1,318	2,585	1,305
Ship Constructive and Shipwrights' Association, 8 Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1882	88,563	79,098	57,864	67,329	21,631
National Amalgamated Union of Labour, 4 Higham Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1889	3,328	2,819	12,743	13,252	16,017
Northumberland Deputies' Mutual Aid Association, 164 Portland Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1876	5,745	3,622	1,447	3,570	1,349
Northern United Enginemen's Association, 3 St Nicholas Buildings, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1893	1,561	1,339	1,407	1,629	1,286

Name and Registered Office	Year of Establishment	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
		£	£	£	£	
NORTHUMBERLAND—*continued*						
Northumberland Colliery Enginemen and Firemen's Mutual Protection Association, New Phœnix Inn, Morpeth	1864	4,149	3,622	1,224	1,751	1,104
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—						
Amalgamated Society of Operative Lace Makers, 16 Pembridge Place, Mount Street, Nottingham	1874	38,414	36,923	9,400	10,891	2,884
Nottinghamshire Miners' Association, Nottingham Road, Old Basford, Nottingham	1880	214,700	190,655	36,499	60,544	30,944
SOMERSETSHIRE—						
Bristol, West of England, and South Wales Operatives' Trade and Provident Society, Dorset House, North Street, Bedminster, Bristol	1873	103,770	111,879	69,221	61,112	49,465
National Federation of Colliery Enginemen and Boilermen, 192 Mendip View, Radstock, Bath	1873	75	47	213	241	8,610
STAFFORDSHIRE—						
South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire Amalgamated Association of Miners, Miners' Hall, Great Bridge, Tipton	1860	(1)5,707	5,763	1,972	1,916	1,600

Pelsall District Miners' Association, Lloyds Chambers, Park Street, Walsall	1885	[1]13,453	13,429	2,352	2,376	4,059
Chainmakers and Strikers' Association, Unity Villa, Sydney Road, Cradley Heath, Staffs	1889	4,569	4,725	2,795	2,639	1,250
Cannock Chase Miners, Enginemen, and Surfacemen's Association, Miners' Hall, West Hill, Hednesford, Staffs	1887	15,731	16,055	3,815	3,491	9,400
North Stafford Miners' Federation, Miners' Office, Morland Road, Burslem	1869	34,802	35,398	9,041	8,445	8,143
Miners' Protection Society (Branch of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain) for parts of Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire Districts, 65B High Street, Old Hill, Staffs	1898	2,366	2,161	921	1,126	1,245
Midland Association of Blastfurnacemen, 28 John Street, Goldenhill, Stoke-on-Trent	1907	489	488	457	458	1,014
WARWICKSHIRE—						
National Union of Operative Heating and Domestic Engineers, Whitesmiths, and General Ironworkers, 88 Queen's Road, Aston, Birmingham	1872	2,063	2,278	1,513	1,298	1,045
Amalgamated Society of General Toolmakers, Engineers, and Machinists, 12 Station Street Corner Chambers, John Bright Street, Birmingham	1882	13,524	17,950	12,510	8,084	4,553
Warwickshire Miners' Association, Miners' Offices, Bedworth, Nuneaton	1885	20,616	15,976	9,748	14,388	10,000
National Society of Brass Workers and Metal Mechanics, 70 Lionel Street, Birmingham	1872	17,461	17,995	13,210	12,676	7,373

[1] This is a corrected balance.

Name and Registered Office	Year of Establishment	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
		£	£	£	£	
WARWICKSHIRE—*continued*						
Amalgamated Society of Gas Workers, Brick Makers, and General Labourers, 35 Ruskin Buildings, Corporation Street, Birmingham	1889	4,901	4,932	2,252	2,221	3,805
Birmingham Operative Tin Plate, Sheet Metal Workers' and Braziers' Society, People's Hall, Hurst Street, Birmingham	1859	6,766	8,028	5,126	3,864	1,624
Cycle and Allied Trades Association, Priory House, Priory Street, Coventry	1904	178	43	1,199	1,334	5,087
WORCESTERSHIRE—						
Midland Counties Trades Federation, 63 Vicar Street, Dudley	1886	2,701	2,654	321	368	1,647
YORKSHIRE—						
Yorkshire Miners' Association, 2 Huddersfield Road, Barnsley	1858	314,436	352,606	109,580	71,410	88,271
National Society of Dyers and Finishers, Dyers' Club and Institute, 10 Worthington Street, City Road, Bradford	1851	8,059	9,610	4,076	2,525	3,874
Cleveland Miners' and Quarrymen's Association, 17 Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea	1872	16,033	16,316	4,320	4,037	9,326
Amalgamated Society of Dyers, Bleachers, Finishers, and Kindred Trades, Trades Hall, 90 Sunbridge Road, Bradford	1878	39,491	43,936	13,324	8,879	10,538

Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, 8 Park Square, Leeds	1880	174,170	182,883	30,627	21,914	19,800
(1) Amalgamated Union of Clothiers' Operatives, 32 Cobden Place, Leeds	1881	2,598	3,371	4,756	3,983	3,336
General Union of Weavers and Textile Workers, 17 Upperhead Row, Huddersfield	1881	3,989	4,242	1,074	821	4,535
Cleveland and Durham Blastfurnacemen's and Cokemen's Association, 87 Borough Road, West, Middlesborough	1882	4,812	5,382	2,993	2,423	4,212
Royal Liver Agents' Union, 21 Roman Grove, Roundhay, Leeds	1890	455	474	560	541	2,000
Bradford and District Machine Woolcombers' Association, Club Rooms, Albert Buildings, Horton Road, Bradford	1890	(2)821	2,869	2,918	870	6,096
National Association of Prudential Assurance Agents, 76 Tempest Road, Beeston Hill, Leeds	1893	(2)1,417	1,705	2,062	1,774	3,662
National Union of Stove Grate, Fender, and General Light Metal Workers, Effingham Street, Rotherham	1890	8,308	8,560	1,894	1,642	1,248
National Amalgamated Union of Enginemen, Firemen, Mechanics, and Electrical Workers, 228 Wellgate, Rotherham	1889	12,278	13,841	6,423	4,860	5,698
National Association of Builders' Labourers, 62 Hopwood Street, Hull	1907	4,541	5,090	2,249	1,700	2,312
National Federation of Enginemen, Stokers, and Kindred Trade Societies, 228 Wellgate, Rotherham	1908	107	136	313	284	38,000

(1) Cancelled (1911).
(2) This is a corrected balance

Name and Registered Office	Year of Establishment	Funds 31 Dec. 1909	Funds 31 Dec. 1910	Income for 1910	Expenditure for 1910	Number of Members
		£	£	£	£	
YORKSHIRE—*continued*						
Yorkshire and Derbyshire Cokemen's and Labourers' Association, 71 St John's Road, Rotherham	1908	35	43	441	433	1,000
WALES						
CARNARVONSHIRE—						
North Wales Quarrymen's Union, 17 Bridge Street, Carnarvon	1874	3,780	4,710	1,601	671	2,907
DENBIGHSHIRE—						
North Wales Miners' Association, Miners' Offices, Bradley Road, Wrexham	1892	9,506	8,238	7,177	8,445	12,043
GLAMORGANSHIRE—						
Cardiff, Penarth, and Barry Coal Trimmers' and Tippers' Union, 39 Mount Stuart Square, Cardiff	1888	2,003	2,208	1,795	1,590	1,450
National Amalgamated Labourers' Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 1 St David's Place, Rutland Street, Swansea	1889	3,553	4,145	2,777	2,185	3,549

Welsh Artisan's United Association, Fronmor, Gween's Road, Sketty, Glam.	1889	1,242	1,408	881	715	1,115
Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and Mechanics of South Wales and Monmouthshire, 26 Williams Place, Penydarren, Merthyr-Tydvil	1890	9	3	1,039	1,045	6,539
Tin and Sheet Millmen's Association, 6 Bellevue Street, Swansea	1899	6,675	7,399	2,423	1,699	2,078
Monmouthshire and South Wales Colliery Enginemen, Stokers, and Craftsmen's Association, 14 Lewis Street, Treforest, Pontypridd	1889	13,794	9,508	5,093	9,379	9,367

THE WORLD'S TRADE UNIONS

Country	Population	Membership of Trade Unions	Number in Parliament
Argentine	7,121,822	22,457	2
Austria	28,567,898	506,905	82
Australia	6,054,828	239,293	—
Belgium	7,423,784	138,929	39
Bosnia	1,931,802	6,269	—
Bulgaria	4,329,106	18,753	1
Canada	7,320,492	133,132	—
Croatia	2,619,291	6,805	—
Denmark	2,775,076	123,804	24
Finland	3,059,300	19,640	86
France	39,601,000	1,029,238	76
Germany	64,925,000	3,042,203	110
Greece	2,631,952	6,000	—
Holland	5,945,155	143,850	7
Hungary	20,840,000	95,180	—
Italy	34,686,583	843,811	45
Luxemburg	259,891	—	10
New Zealand	1,070,652	54,519	—
Norway	2,392,698	52,735	11
Portugal	5,423,132	—	1
Servia	2,922,068	8,337	2
Spain	19,527,434	121,180	1
Sweden	5,521,943	121,180	65
Switzerland	3,765,293	93,797	16
Turkey	34,713,684	50,000	—
U.S.A.	92,884,139	1,710,733	1
United Kingdom	45,365,899	3,010,346	40

Board of Trade Report on Labour Disputes in 1911

The Annual Report for 1911[1] on Strikes and Lock-outs, and on the work done by Conciliation and Arbitration Boards in the United Kingdom, with comparative statistics for 1902-1910, has recently been published by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade.

STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS

The year 1911 was marked by widespread stoppages of work in the transport trades, and many industries underwent disorganization or great inconvenience in consequence. In the latter half of the year, and after the commencement of the series of transport strikes, disputes in other trades became very numerous. Taking the year as a whole, no less than 903 disputes were recorded, involving 961,980 workpeople at the establishments where the disputes occurred. In addition, 27 disputes which began before 1911, involving 26,720 workpeople, were in progress for varying periods during that year. The total number of disputes beginning in 1911 had been exceeded on only two occasions during the period 1893-1910, while the number of workpeople involved was more than 300,000 in excess of that for 1893, which was the highest previously recorded.

[1] Report on Strikes and Lock-outs and on Conciliation and Arbitration Boards in 1911. Cd. 6472. Price 10d.

In the following Table the number of workpeople involved and the aggregate duration in working days of disputes in 1909, 1910, and 1911 are shown, classified by trades :—

Trades	Number of Workpeople involved in Disputes beginning in			Aggregate Duration in Working Days of Disputes in Progress in		
	1909	1910	1911	1909	1910	1911
Building	1,592	880	2,789	19,360	35,475	74,962
Mining and Quarrying	272,754	296,573	140,808	2,229,487	5,524,160	4,101,276
Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding	9,724	55,436	93,783	179,689	3,147,157	1,321,915
Textile	6,795	132,276	221,433	177,912	917,558	1,434,068
Clothing	2,578	4,462	9,810	19,473	58,866	94,447
Transport	4,874	20,321	448,618	94,697	70,833	2,729,633
Miscellaneous, and Employees of Public Authorities	2,502	5,217	44,739	53,368	140,782	563,290
Total	300,819	515,165	961,980	2,773,986	9,894,831	10,319,591

Nearly one-half of the total number of workpeople affected in 1911 were transport workers, and over 400,000 of these were involved in a series of great disputes which began in June with a general strike of seamen and firemen, affecting a large number of ports in the United Kingdom. This strike was rapidly followed by a number of disputes involving dock workers, carters, railway servants and other workpeople, the series continuing until the end of August. The large number of workpeople involved in disputes in the textile trades during 1911 was due to the lock-out in the cotton weaving industry of North and North-East Lancashire, which began on 28th December, involving 160,000 operatives.

Although the aggregate duration of all disputes in progress in 1911 was only slightly in excess of that for 1910, it was more than double the average of that for the period 1902-1910.

In the following Table the workpeople *directly* involved in disputes beginning in 1911 are classified according to cause and result:—

[TABLE

Principal Cause	Number of Workpeople *directly* involved in Disputes beginning in 1911, the Results of which were:				Total Number of Workpeople *directly* involved in Disputes beginning in 1911
	In favour of Workpeople	In favour of Employers	Compromised or Partially Successful	Indefinite	
Wages—					
For Increase	18,953	31,515	283,143	36	333,647
Against Decrease	2,224	908	13,148	—	16,280
Other	11,431	8,940	12,917	—	33,288
Total Wages	32,608	41,363	309,208	36	383,215
Hours of Labour	1,212	4,328	7,621	—	13,161
Employment of Particular Classes of Persons	5,879	10,086	16,674	—	32,639
Working Arrangements	3,441	8,112	56,186	270	68,009
Trade Unionism	11,538	7,462	308,588	—	327,588
Other Causes	27	5,565	900	—	6,492
Grand Total	54,705	76,916	699,177	305	831,104

The principal causes of disputes beginning in 1911 were questions of wages and of Trade Unionism, the former involving 46 per cent. of all the workpeople directly affected and the latter 39 per cent. About two-thirds of the workpeople who ceased work in support of demands for advances in wages were transport workers ; while the general strike of railway servants and the lock-out in the cotton industry were mainly responsible for the high proportion of workpeople involved in disputes in which the chief object was the assertion or defence of Trade Union principles.

Settlements in the nature of a compromise were arranged in the case of 84 per cent. of the total number of workpeople directly affected by all disputes ; less than 7 per cent. of the workpeople were wholly successful, and rather more than 9 per cent. were wholly unsuccessful.

Although in 1911, as usual, the great majority of the disputes were settled by direct negotiations between the parties involved, the percentage of the total number of workpeople whose disputes were settled by this method was only 34, as compared with an average of 57 per cent. for 1902-1910.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

During 1911 no less than 70 disputes, directly involving 348,333 workpeople, were settled by methods of conciliation, as compared with an average of 23

disputes and 44,824 workpeople for the period 1902-1910; while 22 disputes, directly involving 7,435 workpeople, were settled by arbitration. The number of disputes involving a stoppage of work which were settled by conciliation or arbitration under the Conciliation Act 1896 in 1911 (32) was the highest recorded for any year since the Act came into force. Of the 285,749 workpeople directly affected by the 23 disputes settled by conciliation under the Act, 271,000 were involved in settlements effected in connexion with disputes in the transport trades.

ADDENDUM

In February 1913 *all the Trade Unions connected with the railway service, with very few exceptions, locally amalgamated under the name of the National Union of Railwaymen.*

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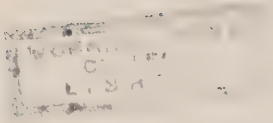

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